

THE SOCIAL STUDIES



Continuing

The Historical Outlook

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The Social Studies

Continuing The Historical Outlook

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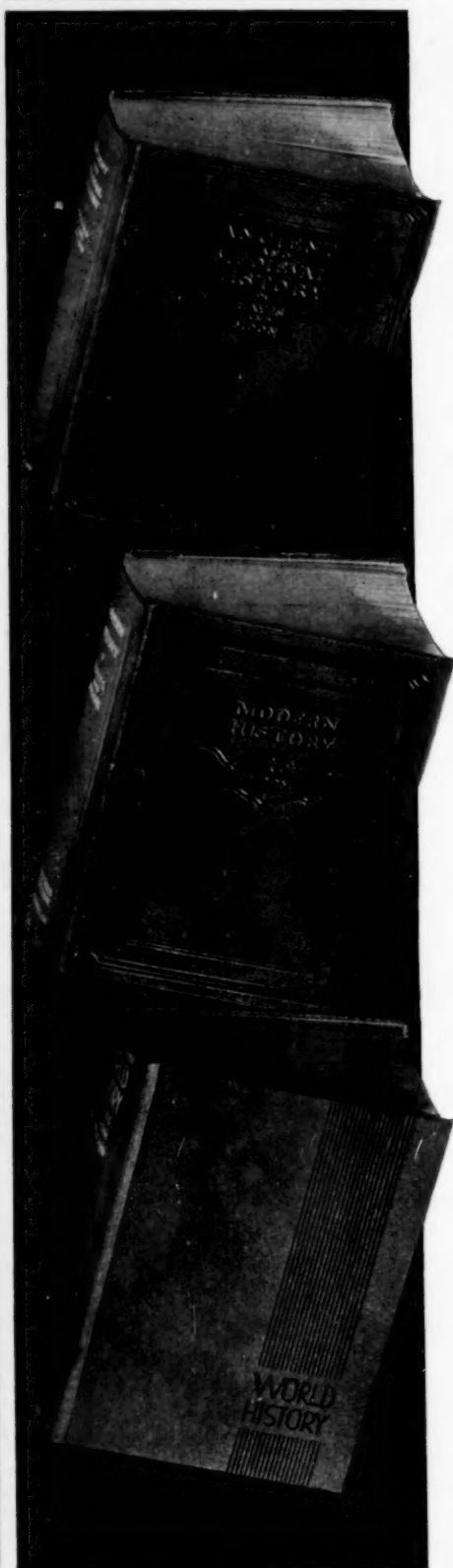
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The Social Studies

Continuing The Historical Outlook

VOLUME XXV, NUMBER 7

NOVEMBER, 1934

The Conclusions and Recommendations of the Commission on the Investigation of the Social Studies in the Schools

V. Which Way Democracy?

B. H. BODE

Ohio State University

For some years past it has been a matter of common knowledge that an important inquiry into the teaching of the social sciences was under way. The personnel of the "Commission on the Social Studies," which was in charge of this undertaking, and the amount of effort expended on the work were a guarantee that the final report of this commission would constitute a notable document. It could hardly fail to be a major contribution within its field or to education in general.

In certain respects this anticipation has been fulfilled. It should be easy, as it is tempting, to enlarge on the scholarly quality, the range of insight, and the sensitiveness to human needs and values that are exhibited in the "Report of the Commission on the Social Studies" which has recently come off the press. There is every reason to think that this report will exert a profound influence in promoting a new orientation with respect to "the tasks, the responsibilities, the content and the method of education" (p. 28). This much may be cheerfully conceded, even though there are certain sizable items to be charged against this Report on the opposite side of the ledger. There is grave reason for believing that the Report has involved itself in a serious contradiction and that to some extent it will serve to perpetuate the confusion in thinking which it was intended to eliminate.

The manner in which the commission approaches its task is most commendable. It records at the outset its conviction that "the social sciences as bodies of empirical data contain no inner logic which determines clearly and positively either the scope, the

content or the structure of the science materials to be taught or the social activities to be encouraged" (p. 10). Consciously or not, education involves some general point of view or "frame of reference." "Some frame of reference, large or small, clear or confused, conditions every general work in the social sciences, every program of instruction in these subjects, every conception of methods and examinations, and every plan of school administration" (p. 3). If we turn next to the "frame of reference" which is presented with the endorsement of the Commission in Chapter II of the Report, we come upon a point of view which, in substance, will command the assent of the great body of liberal thinkers in America. It protests against "goose-step regimentation," and against excessive social pressures on "personal behavior, mode of living, cultural satisfactions and avocations, and religious, economic and political beliefs" (p. 24). It insists that "since every person is of moral worth and dignity in himself, no man, woman or child can be exploited by another without doing violence to the essential spirit of American democracy and liberty" (p. 12). It forecasts a civilization in the United States "which combines utility and esthetics in a grand conception of the potentialities in American life" (p. 21). It pleads for a high standard of living for the common man, for the rejection of historic individualism, for large-scale planning, for an enlargement of the functions of government, for a "consciously integrated society in which individual economic actions and individual property rights will be altered and abridged" (p. 17).

In its general tenor, this social philosophy is entitled to cordial assent. Nevertheless, there is room for misgiving. Why is all this—and more—embodied in the “frame of reference”? We may assume that the Commission is not merely seizing an opportunity to state its collective point of view with respect to social and economic matters. The inclusion of all this material in the “frame of reference” means apparently that the schools are to be used as a means for promoting this particular point of view. This, in terms of the vernacular, is a horse of a wholly different color. Agreement with the social philosophy expressed in the “frame of reference,” does not necessarily commit us to any such conclusion. If this philosophy is presented for the purpose of securing sanction for an educational program of indoctrination, it is necessary to remind ourselves that even the devil can quote Scripture to his purpose.

Is this the purpose of the Commission in formulating the “frame of reference”? It must be admitted that the record is not unequivocal. The discussion of the “materials of instruction” (pp. 49-54) is curiously conventional. It recommends “knowledge and understanding of the earth as the physical home of man, a broad and comprehensive conception of the evolution of civilization,” the development of democratic ideals, practice in the use of sources, and the like, but nothing that reasonably could be construed as a program of indoctrination. Again the competent teacher “will endeavor to acquaint the pupil with diverse ideas and points of view and cultivate in him a reasoned scepticism regarding the claims advanced in support of any social doctrine or program” (p. 83). In general, “a supreme purpose of education in the United States,” is “the preparation of the rising generation to enter the society, now coming into being through thought, ideal, and knowledge rather than through coercion, regimentation, and ignorance” (p. 39). This appeal to “reasoned scepticism,” and the repudiation of “coercion, regimentation, and ignorance,” would seem to furnish adequate protection against charges of propagandizing or indoctrination.

Nevertheless, the doubt persists. The passage just quoted, anent “coercion, regimentation, and ignorance,” does not come to a full stop, but continues: “and to shape the form of that society in accordance with American ideals of popular democracy and personal liberty and dignity.” In brief, the rising generation is to enter the society now coming into being with full and free knowledge without coercion, etc., but education must see to it that the aforesaid rising generation will help to shape the form of that society according to a predetermined ideal. As Henry Ford is reputed to have said of his early automobiles, he was willing to turn them out in any color that might be desired, as long as

it was black. Again, the passage advocated a “reasoned scepticism regarding the claims advanced in support of *any* social doctrine or program” is placed in almost immediate juxtaposition with the statement that “the supreme goal of education within the general frame of reference adopted is the growth of an independent yet socially sensitive personality.” Independent knowledge, reasoned scepticism, are all to be prized, but “*within the general frame of reference adopted.*” Did any despot or church council ever ask for more?

What does all this mean? Here we have a group of distinguished scholars who tell us in the same breath that we must “strive continuously to develop in the child habits of independent study, inquiry, thought, and action and thus free him as quickly and completely as possible from reliance upon the formal and authoritarian tutelage of teacher, school and elders” (p. 83), and that this process of liberation must be kept “within the general frame of reference adopted.” In plain English, this means that a student can think as he likes, provided that he does not disagree with the professor. A result of this kind calls for explanation. The Commission is not lacking in sincerity, nor in the gift of expression, nor yet in a sense of humor. When they speak of faith in intelligence, of freeing the pupil from reliance upon the formal and authoritarian tutelage of teacher, school and elders, they can hardly be taken to mean that regimentation is permissible only if the “frame of reference” is such as they are willing to approve. They clearly assume that it is possible to cultivate genuine freedom of thought and also to hold the pupil within the prescribed frame of reference. The implication of this assumption is apparently that the frame of reference in question is a product of “pure reason,” in other words, that a genuinely untrammelled intelligence will emerge with substantially the same conclusions as those which are arrived at by the Commission. It is difficult to see how the theses defended by the Commission can be reconciled on any other basis.

It may be noted in passing that the Commission has succumbed at this point to a common human failing. No man is lacking in openmindedness or in intrinsic reasonableness in his own eyes. The trouble is always in the lack of reasonableness in the other party. What is more important for our purpose is to consider the assumption that appears to be involved in the concept of intelligence. If intelligence is a separate entity, it becomes reasonable to suppose that the explanation of its failure to function properly lies in conditions external to intelligence, such as passion, prejudice or established habits of thinking, which intervene to cramp its style. From this standpoint the liberation of intelligence can be secured by establishing a frame of reference which

eliminates all such handicaps. To put across this frame of reference and to liberate intelligence then become the same thing. But this is obviously a return to faculty psychology, to say nothing of the bland assumption that the frame of reference which is prescribed is a pure and holy thing.

In a subsequent discussion of "Tests and Testing," it is true, the Commission asserts its inability to "accept the theory that intelligence is a self-contained particularity which acts inexorably as an independent and original force in society" (p. 91). If, however, we assume that this is what was really meant in the earlier context, we again get into difficulties. Let us grant that what the pupil brings to school with him is no such hypothetical "self-contained particularity." What then does he bring? Clearly, a set of beliefs and attitudes which reflect, more or less accurately, the social environment to which he belongs. If we cannot assume a "self-contained particularity," neither can we proceed as though the pupil were an empty receptacle. Moreover, these pre-existent beliefs and attitudes can hardly be expected to coincide, point for point, with those of the teacher who is operating on the basis of the proposed "frame of reference."

What then is to be the procedure? If the "frame of reference" is to prevail at all costs, then it is clearly obligatory for the teacher to brush aside whatever divergencies may arise, by having recourse either to special pleading or to more overt forms of coercion and regimentation. On the other hand, if thought, ideal, knowledge, and "reasoned scepticism" are to be protected, then the frame of reference necessarily loses its sacrosanct position. The emphasis then shifts to the reinterpretation or reconstruction of these earlier beliefs and attitudes, so as to eliminate conflicts and contradictions. Intelligence, in this case, turns out to be merely a name for this process of reinterpretation; and it becomes the function of the teacher to bring to light these conflicts and contradictions and to provide assistance and encouragement to the student engaged in reconstructing his experience. It is not the function of the teacher to predetermine the conclusions. From the nature of the case, the new synthesis which is achieved by the student will vary according to the elements that enter into it. The synthesis cannot be predetermined by any antecedent frame of reference; it necessarily becomes a process in which the student builds his own frame of reference.

FUNCTION OF THE FRAME OF REFERENCE

In appearance this conclusion will perhaps constitute a denial of the contention on the part of the Commission that the teaching of the social sciences—or, for that matter, of anything else—implies a

frame of reference, i.e., a basic philosophy. As a matter of fact, however, this is not the case. The claim that teaching involves a frame of reference is abundantly justified. The question that is really at issue relates to the function of the frame of reference. Does this function relate to method or procedure, or does it relate to the conclusions which are to be reached? The Commission apparently intends to have the frame of reference cover both method and conclusions. This is hopelessly self-contradictory. The insistence on independence of thinking becomes an empty pretense if the conclusions to be drawn are determined in advance. The appropriate frame of reference for a democratic theory of education, it would seem, would be the thesis, in the language of the Commission, that "the supreme goal of education is the growth of an independent yet socially sensitive personality"—without the qualification that this growth must be kept within a framework of prescribed attitudes and beliefs. The basic "dogma" of a democratic philosophy of education relates to method, to reliance on intelligence, and not to conclusions. This does not mean in the least that the teacher must be an anemic neutral. It does mean that the teacher in his professional capacity must concentrate his efforts on promoting a genuine reinterpretation of experience on the part of the pupil, without presuming to decide what the outcome of this reinterpretation is to be.

If the Commission is prepared to take its stand on "faith in intelligence," on the extension to every individual of "the opportunity for the fullest development of his creative capacities, his spiritual qualities, his individuality" (p. 38), it must also be prepared to take whatever risks may be involved in this point of view. Democracy, if it means anything at all, means faith in the common man. A democratic system of education is committed to a procedure of continuously reconstructing experience in the light of the tensions and conflicts that are inherent in our unhappy civilization. Its distinguishing trait is that it makes this process of reconstruction an enterprise for which the individual concerned assumes direct and personal responsibility, without authoritarian tutelage or pressure from vested interests. If this faith in the common man is justified, then the general effect of such education will be to promote democracy, in the sense in which the Commission has defined democracy in its "frame of reference." If this faith is not justified, then democracy should be discarded as an idle dream. To dictate conclusions betokens a distrust of the common man, even though the dictating be done for the avowed purpose of promoting democracy and the liberation of intelligence. The proper function of the "frame of reference" set up by the Commission is not to set limits to thinking, but to justify the conclusion that

a genuinely democratic system of education cannot afford to establish any such limits.

The issue, in brief, is the issue of faith in the intelligence of the common man. On this issue, the Report takes no clear stand. It asserts that the development of the individual must be held within a predetermined "frame of reference," and it also protests vehemently against the imposition of religious, economic, and political beliefs. This failure to take a definite stand is reflected in a corresponding lack of definiteness in the recommendations regarding educational procedures. If the Commission is seriously concerned to keep the teaching of the social sciences within the specified frame of reference, it should make some reasonably specific recommendations bearing on this point. It does nothing of the sort. In general, its recommendations would fit fairly well into a "frame of reference" of a much more conservative kind. On the other hand, if it is primarily concerned with the effective functioning of intelligence in matters of common interest, it should give a central position to the tensions, conflicts and contradictions that are operative in every important area of life. This, again, it fails to do. As a consequence, there is no close continuity between the frame of reference and the recommendations that are supposed to be based on it. The frame of reference is a fighting document, but apparently the Commission was left exhausted.

Perhaps a word of comment on the frame of reference itself will be in order. In this frame of reference, the problem of economics naturally looms large. Progress in this field, so it is contended, lies in the direction of securing an economic order which will extend to the masses of the people "greatly increased opportunities for the cultivation and enjoyment of the things of the mind and the spirit"; an economic order which will free them "from absorption in material things and enable them to devote greater attention to ideals of spiritual and scientific and cultural development" (p. 22). That economic reform should bear such fruit appears to be a reasonable demand. It is significant, however, that economic activities seem to be regarded solely as a means to an end, and that progress here is conceived as an escape from drudgery into interests or activities that are pitched on a separate and higher cultural level. This is, of course, quite in the spirit of the traditional dualism between vocation and culture. A departure from this dualism is indicated in

the forecast of a future civilization in the United States "which combines utility and esthetics in a grand conception of the potentialities in American life" (p. 21). It is not at all apparent why a combination of utility with "ideals of spiritual, scientific and cultural development" would not be of equal grandeur as a conception of the potentialities in American life. In other words, a democracy cannot afford to continue the tradition of a culture that was developed to meet the needs of a leisure class. If the spiritual, scientific, and cultural growth of the masses is to be fostered, it becomes necessary to look toward the economic order for a major contribution to this end. A democracy cannot be content with a wider extension of cultural values. It must develop its own type of culture.

In conclusion, then, the basic defect of the Report lies in the fact that it attempts to combine an authoritarian "frame of reference" with the cultivation of effective and independent thinking. The result of this misguided attempt is that the recommendations which are made are comparatively innocuous. The recommendations do not press the claims of the "frame of reference" because this would endanger the ideal of independent thinking. On the other hand, they do not set the stage for genuinely independent thinking, because this would challenge the finality of the "frame of reference." The moral is that we cannot eat our cake and have it. If we are bound to predetermine the character or direction of social change, we cannot at the same time make the maximum intellectual and spiritual development of the common man our major consideration. By the same token, if this maximum development is to be our chief concern, we must seek to acquire the kind of faith that is willing to leave the outcome on the knees of the gods.

Even if this criticism be granted, however, the Report is a significant document. The insistence that careful attention must be given to whatever general point of view or "frame of reference" may be involved in the teaching of the social sciences is of basic importance. So is the emphasis placed on the transitional character of the present, and the recognition that the supreme issue in this period of stress and strain is the issue of democracy. We cannot go on indefinitely on the basis of custom and tradition; this Report will do much to stimulate our thinking with respect to responsibility of education for the quality or direction of social change.

The leading article in the August issue of the *English Review*, by "X," deals incidentally with German terrorism and directly with the need of Constitutional reform in Britain.

The Irish Monthly for September continues Molly Doyle's excellent account of "The Making of German Women," a study of the educational methods and aims of the Hitler Régime.

VI. Comments on "Conclusions and Recommendations"

TYLER KEPNER

Director of Social Studies, Brookline, Mass.

As one puts down the report after rereading, he asks himself the question: On the whole does *Conclusions and Recommendations* point, first, to some charted way out of the woods in which the social studies are believed by many to be at present; and, secondly, does the Commission on Direction, consisting as it does of distinguished leaders in their respective fields, "stir up the animals," as many think they should be aroused? To this writer the answer seems to be Yes to each part of the question. And then, of course, it more or less follows that any report that does either of these things forthrightly, is bound to invite adverse criticism from many quarters, if indeed it does not kick up a first-class rumpus—which might, incidentally, be a very desirable outcome. Honest differences of opinion there will be, for the Commission, with all the "frames of references" before it in detail, could not agree unanimously.

To many, no doubt, the most arresting "conclusion," because of its probable implications, is that some form of "collectivism" is emerging in this country, and that we are at present in a transitional period. Pursuing tenaciously this point of view, the Commission warns against "a narrow intolerant nationalism or an aggressive predatory imperialism," pinning its hope in the possibility and desirability of the "retention and fulfillment of the historic principles and ideals of American democracy." Then, mindful of what the transitional period may have in store, the Commission insists upon "the right of the individual to be free from excessive social pressures on his personal behavior, mode of living, cultural satisfactions and avocations, and religious, economic, and political beliefs." And then to tie up this and similar frames of reference to education, the report "deems desirable . . . the incorporation into the materials of social-science instruction in the schools of the best plans and ideals for the future of society and of the individual." If these points of view do not result in at least mild discussion, then speaking educationally, there probably isn't any kick left in the Old Deal.

The teacher of the social studies is told frankly that he is poorly trained (but he by no means shares the responsibility alone); that, if he wishes to belong to the surviving "competent" teachers, he

"should know thoroughly the subject matter he professes to teach." For the teacher with social understanding, there is envisioned "a sufficient measure of freedom of teaching to enable him to introduce his pupils to a thoroughly realistic and independent understanding of contemporary society—its tensions, its contradictions, its conflicts, its movements, and its thought." Having acquainted a pupil with all sides of an issue, the teacher of the "proximate future" will "cultivate in him [the pupil] a reasoned scepticism regarding the claims advanced in support of any social doctrine or program." The "keystone" of the Commission's program is that "the scholarship, courage, and vision of social-science instruction in the schools can rise no higher than the scholarship, courage, and vision of the social-science teacher." While on this last point there doubtlessly will be general agreement, the burden is placed squarely upon the shoulders of the teacher, and in the popular phraseology of the day the "challenge" is perfectly clear. If I understand the frame of reference on teachers, the Commission feels rather strongly that good teachers are born, not made; and there's no use wasting time and effort on the "made" kind.

That the Commission favors no one method of teaching the social studies is but confirmation of a point of view held by an increasing number of teachers; likewise many will welcome the conviction that method "dissociated from appropriate content or knowledge of pupil growth" renders education "shallow, formal or capricious, or all three." Again, the emphasis placed upon the ability to do is significant, particularly the insistence upon the use of sources for both new and current materials and the even more important stress upon methods of "inquiry, scrutiny, criticisms, authentication, and verification." Too many teachers, as well as textbook and workbook writers, have missed these emphases, particularly the latter. Social-studies instruction must train in social, political, and economic *thinking*, if the school is to make a major contribution to a citizenship capable of making democracy more democratically responsive.

The plea for adequately equipped libraries—with selection of titles appropriate to a particular grade level and not eternally on a collegiate level—to

gether with other necessary equipment will strike a sympathetic note among teachers. When will administrators become conscious of these needs, become aware that a social-studies "laboratory" may be of at least equal importance with science laboratories? Supervisors are dismissed with a few brief paragraphs, considered apparently on the whole a harmless group, although conceded necessary in their present state of evolution. Perhaps the Commission felt that "those who can, teach; those who can't, supervise." Will teachers receive the onslaughts upon teacher-training institutions and the new-type tests as merited public rebukes that had to come sooner or later? These chapters will repay careful reading, for the attacks are not unqualified. Lack of a suggested program of studies for social studies from the kindergarten through junior college will unquestionably prove disappointing to many school people; but apart from the fact that the Commission was not instructed to draw up such a program, it may have recalled the fate of other programs projected by previous national committees. One rather wishes that somewhere in this broad land an *active*, competent classroom teacher or two had been found to sit on the Commission. A few questions occur to this writer, but they are asked in no carping fashion. Did the Commission take its stand on an "integrated national system" of education with its fingers crossed? Will not many persons consider the report a bit ambitious—in some respects extremely idealistic—suggesting its projection into the rather distant future, despite the persistence of the phrase "proximate future" in the report? One might hope that the proximate future is indeed near; perhaps it is greatly overdue. Finally, may

not one be a little puzzled with the failure of the Commission to make definite comment suggestive of *improvement* in the one factor which, next to the teacher, conditions instruction in American schools most—the textbook? The reference on page 147 cannot be interpreted to do this.

Groups of social-studies teachers can do no better in the present school year than to use *Conclusions and Recommendations* as the basis for a series of conferences. The report should be carefully studied by everyone who has any interest whatever in the improvement of teaching in the social studies. The report should leave no one in doubt—particularly administrators—that the social studies, properly conceived, have a contribution to make to education so great that they may well be considered as the "core" subjects. Certainly, it should be difficult for administrators to reduce the program of the social studies in the light of this report. Educators in general and social-studies teachers in particular should feel greatly indebted to the Commission on the Investigation of the Social Studies in the Schools not only for the boldness and virility of the concluding report but also for the many excellent monographs that have appeared. The labor and energy expended for the good of the cause—the improvement of social-studies instruction for millions of American boys and girls—are beyond calculation. It would be interesting and perhaps not without value in creating general interest in the report if, in this age of straw ballots, *The Social Studies* were to conduct a poll of its readers on some question similar to this: Do you on the whole approve the conclusions and recommendations of the Commission's final report?

VII. Next Steps

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This summer I spent revamping a little tumble-down old farm house which, with a few acres of land, I recently bought on Long Island, New York. I played many parts—carpenter, mason, plasterer, landscape gardener and laborer. I knocked out walls at will, broke into the foundation wall and made an outside cellar entrance, changed the course of the entering roadway. The work was hard and wearisome, but I enjoyed doing it.

Across the way lived a real dirt farmer who left for work each morning at 6:15 and returned at 6:30. Being dependent on the soil for a living, his employer sent him or another man periodically to the New York market with a load of cabbages, beets,

corn, tomatoes or potatoes. He was free to go and come, to sell in the open market. But occasionally he could get no offer for his load of produce and had to exchange it for a load of empty crates or else bring it home to rot. Here, too, was freedom to work and strive, but I doubt if my friend enjoyed it as much as I did.

This summer's experience was fresh in my mind when I read the formal volume, *Conclusions and Recommendations of the Report of the Commission on the Social Studies of the American Historical Association*, and served as a rough frame of reference. I am in hearty accord with the conclusions and recommendations of the Commission.

While reading the inspiring and challenging findings, I kept wondering how the spirit of the report could be brought to bear on the work of the ordinary classroom teacher. On page 104, I noted that the Commission states that it frankly and deliberately addressed its report primarily to teachers who are either competent already or desirous of becoming so. But how are these to be reached? How are they to be given the freedom which is indicated, and imbued with the spirit which is so essential?

In Appendix A, entitled "Next Steps," I found a partial answer to my problem. Here the lines along which attacks can be made on the problem of applying its conclusions with respect to instruction in the Social Sciences are indicated in a general way. The first step is to awaken the leaders of education to the importance of the problem. Writers of textbooks are expected to be influenced by the report; makers of programs in the social sciences are expected to

be influenced by it; colleges and universities may be expected to reflect its findings in their teaching; educational journalism may be expected to be influenced.

All of this may happen, but the matter is of such moment that it is questionable whether such a drifting policy is the wisest one. Our economic, social and governmental structures even now are being subjected to severe stresses and strains; change, transition, is in the air. Are the schools to wait for years before giving thought to the matter?

One positive direct step was taken when the journal, *The Social Studies*, took up the problem as its first major task. But is this enough? Should there not be some agency such as another Committee of the American Historical Association whose mission would be the translation of the Conclusions and Recommendations of the Committee into actual practice?

VIII. "Conclusions and Recommendations" Report of the Commission on the Social Studies

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Few books published in recent years have presented such an array of challenges to the educator as *Conclusions and Recommendations*, the last volume reporting the five-year investigation of the Commission on the Social Studies of the American Historical Association. These challenges are in general of two types; namely, to become self-critical of current attitudes, philosophies, and practices in both school and social life; and second, to take the steps required to bring the school from its traditional isolation into the realities of community life in a day of conflict when society is moving from an era of marked individualism to a day of more definitely collectivistic activities. It is noteworthy that while the commission deems it highly desirable to put certain limitations upon individualism in our economic life, it considers "the preservation and development of individuality in its non-acquisitive expressions as the finest flower of civilized society" (p. 23). It proposes that although planning in the economic area should be more intelligent and extensive, intrusion into the mental and spiritual fields should be resisted. Education should serve to pro-

tect the integrity of the individual and to equip him to make choices based on reason.

The Commission would broaden and deepen the scholarly preparation of teachers at the expense of reducing the number of technical educational courses. It would set up safeguards to enable them to bring classroom activities into closer grips with human knowledge, thought, aspirations, and the critical issues of the day. The Commission attacks new type tests, some might say a bit too strongly, and vigorously presents the intangibles as the most important values in terms of social utility.

These are but a few high points in a book packed full of vital considerations, many of which are of a highly controversial nature. It is the opinion of the reviewer that the use of the volume in faculty and committee meetings generally throughout the country would contribute mightily toward the acquisition by educators of more carefully analyzed social and educational viewpoints, and would serve to stimulate the development of a school program more definitely geared into its rightful position in a social order in transition.

The Consumer's Struggle for Recognition

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THE CONSUMER EMERGES FROM OBSCURITY

In the drama of economic recovery, the consumer has been called from obscurity to play a leading rôle. The present interest in the consumer, however, can be traced to pre-depression days. In the middle twenties the abler business executives recognized the importance of purchasing power and advocated what they then called the economy of high wages. In summing up the report of the Hoover Commission on Recent Economic Changes, just before the depression, Wesley Mitchell wrote: "The incomes disbursed to consumers, and to wage earners in particular, must be increased on a scale sufficient to pay for the swelling volume of consumers' goods sent to market."

This view was the basis for the pledge taken by industrialists at a White House conference in November, 1929, not to cut wages. It was also the basis of Mr. Hoover's defense of the pre-depression standard of living made in his speech before the Bankers' Convention held in Cleveland in October, 1930. And, curiously enough, the reasoning of the Hoover administration in opposing the reduction of wages was precisely the same as that of the present administration.

However, it wasn't until the advent of the New Deal that the purchasing power theory of recovery attained a position of first importance. Several months before the campaign for election began, Mr. Roosevelt made a speech before the graduating class of Oglethorpe University in which he said: "I believe we are at the threshold of a fundamental change in our popular economic thought, that in the future we are going to think less about the producer and more about the consumer. Do what we may have to do to inject life into our ailing economic order, we cannot make it endure for long unless we can bring about a wiser, more equitable distribution of the national income."

In the summer of the same year, again before the campaign opened, Mr. Rexford Tugwell, making a carefully prepared address, echoed these sentiments: "The energy and ingenuity we are now expending on our financial institutions ought to be turned toward the repairing of a nationally damaged purchasing power—not confidence, but actual power to buy. . . . Purchasing power in the hands of those who ultimately buy and use goods is the one indispensable factor. Lacking this we lack everything. Possessing it we have everything we value."

It was natural, therefore, that the consumer should be given some recognition in the recovery program. In the NRA the consumer is represented by the Consumers' Advisory Board. The Board sends a representative to code hearings; it advocates consumer representation on code authorities; it urges the inclusion of consumers' standards in codes; and it receives and presents complaints of consumers to the Administrator of the NRA. In the AAA he is represented by the Consumers' Counsel who represents the consumer at code hearings in industries involving agricultural products. From his office is distributed the Consumers' Guide, a bi-weekly which reports the average actual store prices of the most important food commodities for the United States as a whole, and for about fifty large cities.

A Consumers' Division has been set up under the National Emergency Council which coördinates the functions of consumer representatives in the NRA and in the AAA. It is this Division which is promoting the organization of County Consumers' Councils. It is too early to predict the value of these Councils. They may be the beginning of a nationwide movement of consumer representatives. When the recovery program officially comes to an end, under effective leadership, the County Councils could be converted into a voluntary National Council of Consumers. The activities of the County Councils are varied. Among other duties they have been receiving consumers' complaints and disseminating information useful to the retail purchaser.

THE CONSUMER PRESENTS A BILL OF DEMANDS

The consumer is inarticulate, individually and collectively. But if he knew his needs as well as the handful of leaders who have espoused his cause, he would make the following principal demands:

1. First and foremost, he would demand a reasonable price for his commodities. Mr. W. F. Ogburn foresaw the rapid rise in prices and maintained that without data on costs, wages, and employment, the Consumers' Advisory Board was helpless. Because he saw no evidence that the data would be furnished he resigned in the late summer of 1933. As time went on the Board proceeded to put Mr. Ogburn's suggestions into operation. Since the price hearings held before Deputy Administrator Whiteside in January of this year, the Consumers' Advisory Board under Dexter Keezer, aided by Corwin

D. Edwards, has made some excellent price studies which, more than any force, set in motion the machinery for code revision undertaken on the fourth of March.

2. The consumer demands informative and specific labeling of goods based on quality standards or grades. The discriminating consumer complains that the dealer does not furnish enough reliable descriptive information to determine either the quality or the value of an article. He has learned not to depend upon price as an index of worth. He deprecates the tendency to sell an article by a trade name which deliberately conceals its exact nature and its true money value. He does not trust the advertising, the wrapper, or the printed label. Therefore, the intelligent consumer seeks the assurance of governmental authority that these be informative, correct and up to standard.

Since informative labeling is impossible without objective standards, the consumer demands that some agency, preferably a governmental bureau shall as rapidly as possible develop standards for as many commodities as is practicable. For example, in purchasing men's shirts it would be of considerable help to the literate consumer if the label gave these simple standards: 1) per cent of collar shrinkage, 2) tensile strength, and 3) wearing quality. The above standards may be determined objectively and they may be expressed quantitatively. Shrinkage tolerance standards were developed by the United States Department of Commerce. Tensile strength is tested mechanically and the three defined grades have numerical limits. Wearing quality is determined by the number of launderings which a shirt withstands before the cloth shows definite failure.

In buying bed sheets the consumer wants to know the *tensile strength*, *thread count*, and the presence of filling because these data tell him how durable they are. In buying silk the purchaser wants to know the per cent of weighting material. Although eighty-five per cent of all silk goods bought by the mass of people is weighted, this term is rarely used in retail purchasing. The buyer who wants to know the warmth of a blanket is helpless without a label.

3. The consumer demands that coöperative consumer societies be protected against the attacks of organized business. The fate of consumers' coöperative societies under the NRA came to a dramatic issue when the oil industry incorporated an article in its code providing that no rebates be paid to purchasers of petroleum products. This provision threatened to destroy 1,500 coöperative oil-distributing societies and to check the formation of new societies, which were being organized at the rate of two a week. This was prevented very largely by Mrs. Mary H. Rumsey, the head of the Con-

sumers' Advisory Board, who attended hearings, called on cabinet officers, deputy administrators, and other important officials. On October 23 of last year, the President issued a special executive order exempting legitimate coöperative organizations from those provisions in codes which prohibit the payment of rebates, thus preventing the destruction of the coöperative consumers' societies by private enterprise.

4. The consumer demands honest advertising. He cannot rely on the accuracy of the seller's statements. Advertisers make extravagant claims and disseminate false and misleading information about their products. The most promising advance in this matter can come from inclusion of appropriate provisions in the codes and from the enactment of a revised Food and Drug Bill. The Code of Fair Practice for the retail stores contains this section: "Advertising (written, printed, radio or display) which represents merchandise, values or services, or selling methods which tend to mislead the consumer, shall be deemed acts of unfair competition." This, undoubtedly, is a mark of progress but too much must not be expected from this provision. Despite the code provision, advertising will continue to give inadequate information concerning the quality and performance of goods; its claims will not cease being extravagant; and it will go on exploiting the vain, the ignorant, and the unwary.

5. The consumer demands a revision of the Food and Drug Act of 1906. The original act does not give him enough protection. It should be broadened to include cosmetics and mechanical devices intended for curative purposes; it should prohibit the false advertising of foods, drugs, and cosmetics; and it should prevent the sale of drugs dangerous to health.

6. The consumer demands a reduction in domestic utility rates. There is a widespread feeling among consumers that all public utility rates are too high, especially gas, electric and telephone rates. With regard to electric rates there is an abundance of evidence that the present administration is strongly disposed to come to the aid of the consumer in a variety of ways. The Tennessee Valley Authority will have much to contribute to the consumers' knowledge of the fair price of electric current. Mr. James C. Bonbright, Professor of Finance at Columbia University and member of the New York Power Authority, advocates a reduction of the preposterous domestic rates, a dissolution of many holding companies, and a scaling down of capital structures.

7. The consumer demands a federal agency to serve his special needs and to represent his interests. Consumers' Research and its officers have been pointing out for a long time that the retail pur-

chaser has no protection from government. This organization argues that the Bureau of Standards does not hesitate to make extensive researches for industry but that it refuses to do anything directly for the consumer. Theoretically, the consumer is one of an economic trinity, only two of which are represented among the executive departments of our federal government. The interests of labor and commerce are championed by Secretaries in the Cabinet; why not a Department of the Consumer with a Secretary to act as the advocate of the consumer?

The Committee on Consumers' Standards of the Consumers' Advisory Board, of which Robert Lynd was the chairman, recommended the establishment of a Consumers' Standard Board with funds for the employment of a technical staff which would develop and promulgate consumer standards. According to this proposal the Board would depend upon existing public and private standardizing agencies for research and laboratory tests. Using the basic data thus obtained the commodity specialists on the Board would prepare and make available the standards for retail goods for the benefit of the consumer.

THE CONSUMER DOES NOT FARE SO WELL IN THE RECOVERY PROGRAM

I have indicated that the consumers' principal demands are seven-fold: a fair price; informative labeling; safe-guarding coöperative societies; honest advertising; the enactment of the revised Food and Drug Act; a reduction in domestic utility rates; and representation in the federal government. Only on these criteria can we determine what the New Deal has accomplished for the consumer.

The champions of the consumer are not unsympathetic with the President's recovery program but they are vigorously protesting that their demands are being ignored. The chief complaint is against the price practices of the trade associations. Recent studies show that it is obvious that the organized industries have taken advantage of the code machinery to raise prices rapidly with a view to increasing profits. In many cases the evidence points unmistakably to collusive price fixing. This, it is alleged, will retard record recovery in two ways: 1) it will reduce volume of purchases; and 2) it will reduce the consumers' purchasing power.

Leon Henderson has shown that woolen prices are higher than they were in 1929. The increase in profit on a standard wool fabric is seven times the increase in labor cost. The economists in the Consumers' Advisory Board claim that there has been an unduly rapid rise in prices in the following industries: lumber, paper and pulp, petroleum, furniture, bituminous coal, knit goods, men's shirts and collars, brick and tile, cement, paints and varnish, and glass.

Open price agreements have become an insidious tool which organized industry has invented for the purpose of fixing prices. Under this agreement all concerns in an industry file a price list with the code authority. By this means the efficient and economical firm is discovered and pressure is applied to force its price up to the desired level. Ninety-two codes contain open price agreements, not including open price arrangements not sanctioned in the codes. At the Price Hearing conducted by Deputy Administrator Whiteside, the Mail Order Association of America presented data to show that the cost of materials in industries having open price agreements rose more than in industries whose codes contained outright price fixing provisions.

The labors of the Consumers' Advisory Board in checking price monopolies are beginning to bear fruit. On June seventh of this year the NRA announced that hereafter the inclusion of price fixing provisions would be prohibited. What amounts to the final demolition of the original price fixing structure was consummated on June 29 when, by Executive order, bidders on government contracts were authorized to submit prices as much as 15 per cent below the price schedules filed by the contractors with their code authorities. The new figure becomes the established price for private purchasers.

The NRA has failed utterly to introduce standards of quality for retail goods into the codes of fair practice. Of 237 approved codes only 73 make any provision for quality standards, most of which are of little value to the retail purchaser. The representative of the American Association of University Women charges that certain deputy administrators have deleted provisions for setting up standards presented by the better element in some of the industries. The only friend of the consumer in the NRA is the Consumers' Advisory Board. In the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, on the other hand, there is a strong feeling in favor of the inclusion of quality standards among officials in general. The AAA is insisting upon the grading of food products and on accurate and informative labels.

The consumer has great difficulty in getting representation on code authorities. Since industrial codes become the law of the land, the present structure of the NRA amounts to giving the producer the power to originate and to enforce legislation. The logical conclusion of this procedure is an industrial government of cartels tempered by complaint.

The Tugwell-Copeland Bill was sidetracked by the last Congress. Provision for honest advertising is limited to a few codes. The Norris resolution passed by the Senate providing for an investigation of electric power rates may yield some startling information for future action but it holds forth no

promise of immediate reduction of the cost of domestic electric current. There is no likelihood that any progress will be made toward the creation of a Board of Consumers' Standards or a Department of the Consumer. The only complete major victories for the consumer won thus far have been the prevention of the assault on the Consumers' Coöperatives by the trade associations and the prohibition of price fixing in future codes. The provisions that prohibit price cutting in the retail and bookselling trade may bear a doubtful remote relation to the welfare of the consumer but their immediate effect is to reduce his spending power.

THE CONSUMER TURNS HIS ATTENTION TO ORGANIZATION

Consumers as a class have certain interests in the present economy which are in sharp contrast with the interests of the producing and selling class as they operate under the present and emerging rules of the economic game. Hitherto, the consumer has been a rather poor hand at this game. But never in the history of this country was there a more auspicious time for him to organize a powerful pressure group. Hitherto, the consumer has been helpless. He could not rely upon the newspaper for support; he could get little coöperation from commercial radio stations; and the school was unwilling to take up his cause. There is a strong likelihood that a national organization of consumers may be formed. In Washington in the last few months the embattled consumers improvised an organization from time to time. The nearest approach to a formal organization was the Consumers' National Conference under the chairmanship of Leon Henderson, who since

then has been made head of the Division of Planning and Research of the NRA.

If the administration succeeds in curbing the excesses of the industrialists in the making and enforcing of codes, it will be due largely to the official and unofficial representatives of the consumer whose spokesmen have been the most severe and yet the most constructive critics of the recovery program. Without the backing of a strong organization the champions of the consumer are greatly handicapped, if not helpless.

There exists a nucleus around which a national organization of consumers may be created. Any effort in this direction would not be without the blessings of the President. In a recent address he said: "We would save and encourage the slowly growing impulse among consumers to enter the industrial market place equipped with sufficient organization to insist upon fair prices and honest sales." The largest organization of consumers at the present time is the Cooperative League of America. Second in order of importance and magnitude is the Consumers' Research with 60,000 members, and considerable technical leadership. The American Association of University Women and the American Home Economics Association are two strong organizations which have for some time given considerable attention to problems of consumption. The following organizations have from time to time exhibited an interest in the cause of the consumer: The General Federation of Women's Clubs, The National League of Women Voters, and The National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs. With these organizations as a core there is a possibility of a strong national federation of consumer societies.

A Century of Progress in the Social Sciences

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The year 1933 marked a century of progress, Chicagoans informed us, and they again asked us in the summer of 1934 to visit their exposition of one hundred years. But I questioned on the visit of 1934 whether I was seeing a Century of Progress or a Bazaar of Modernity. The change from the bravely waving red flags along the avenue of approach to green ones supported by purple standards, was it a bit of symbolism? If the exposition did mark a century of progress, what an incrimi-

nation it should be for the social scientists and what a challenge for the next one hundred years! Should one consider that the exhibits in the beautiful building dedicated to social science were representative, there are doubts that this study has achieved the dignity of being a science and one may truly doubt that the exhibitors were completely alive to social well being.

May I recall to those who saw the Fair that a great deal of space was occupied by the Bell

Telephone, the Western Union, and the Postal Telegraph. The insurance companies had full displays, and the book companies occupied much of the space allotted to education. Electric refrigeration, the radio, lighting fixtures were also well advertised in the Hall of Social Science. Not all of the exhibits were of such frankly a commercial nature, although it is true that these products have been highly important for social progress. The anthropologists, of course, contributed. The models of the excavations made at Persepolis by the University of Chicago archaeologists were exceedingly interesting. The guide to the future archaeologists, the rubbish heap of the 1920's, deserved its place. The social agencies that have been developed in the last two decades, Family Welfare, Health, The Handicapped, had their exhibits, which seemed rather inept in 1933, the fourth year of the Great Depression. Their responsibilities in 1934 for the burden of relief were not featured. The dioramas of the progress of the "tions"—education, recreation, religion, and so on, in the last one hundred years were vaguely satirical. The originator of the posters, "From Individualism to Partnership Between Government and Industry" was too dogmatically sure of his ground to be truly a scientist and the additional posters for the "New Deal" were hardly realistic.

An unconsciously humorous exhibit was that occupied by the Criminal Apprehension Bureau of Chicago. This of all the displays in the Hall of Social Science attracted the crowds. The gaping throngs in the Hall of Science were in contrast to the groups mildly interested in the social sciences. I have merely scanned the array of posters, dioramas, and charts in the Hall, but all were of similar vitality and grasp, save that of the Bureau of Criminal Apprehension, whose very morbidity added interest to that which its timeliness aroused. This lack of interest in the other exhibits, I would say, was due not only to the obviousness of much of the subject matter, but to the almost total illiteracy of the public in the social sciences.

What is the responsibility of the social scientists for our well being? The ugliness of cities—ill housing, waste of resources, unemployment, economic strife, the maldistribution of wealth, juvenile

delinquency, crime, war—are all evidences of a need for a social science. Can any progress be made until the people realize that an unkind providence is not responsible for their lack of social well being, just as there could be no progress in ridding the world of disease as long as people believed that disease was a punishment for sin by a just but hard god? If this thesis is correct, what might have been the exhibits? For one thing might not the facts of child labor have been so graphically displayed that it would not have been profitable to have had young boys at the entrance of the Fair even in the early evening hawking a pictorial edition of a newspaper. Are not labor problems the province of the social scientist? Since social organizations were given a place in the exhibits, the Daughters of the American Revolution being considered worthy, should not the American Federation of Labor also have represented its aims and objects? I know of a group of agricultural workers striking for a wage of \$1.35 a day. The people of a nearby town were completely out of sympathy with this demand. This attitude must be as much the result of ignorance as self-interest. Housing and slum clearance should have had extensive exhibits in the 1934 Fair.

The medium for expressing the facts of social science are, of course, far less interesting than those for showing the facts of the natural sciences, charts, posters, dioramas, yet even these might be interesting to a public which was socially conscious. The Wirtscharts-museum in Vienna, when I visited it, had many interested spectators.

I realize that this diatribe is really misdirected since I have mentioned not evidence of progress but lack of it, which assuredly should not be represented at a Century of Progress and certainly not at a Bazaar. Nevertheless, the Fair was to me an expression of the culture of America in 1933 of which social culture was not a significant part. If Time in 2033 should dazzle its world in a great city by some display of its achievements, will it have found a place any greater or more significant for the social scientists than it found in 1933 or 1934? Right now is the time to begin a real social science and a social culture, which means that the inherent truths of social well being shall have become a background for the thinking of the people.

Admirers of Il Duce and of the Fascist régime in Italy will read with amazement the prophecies and predictions of Anthony M. Turano in the September number of *The American Mercury* in which he says that the Italian blackshirt is nothing more than an ornamental political dickey—a sort of detachable cuff and bosom set that serves a purely forensic purpose while

the majority of citizens continue to wear closer to their skins the older white broadcloth of common sense, insisting that sober Italians have no illusions about any possible territorial gains under modern European conditions. But they are sure that when some nation calls Mussolini's bluff, Fascism will survive neither defeat nor victory.

The Curriculum in the Social Studies: Commentaries on the "Fourth Yearbook"

I. Modern Life and Problems in the Social Science Curriculum

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This statement, "There is no more urgent problem confronting the educational system of the United States than that of reorganizing the curriculum of all schools so that the chief contribution of these curriculums to the experience of young people will be a fuller understanding of society and its institutions,"¹ quoted from Dr. Judd's book heads this manuscript because it seems to me to express in a few words the chief emphasis of modern education. In this paper I wish to present some of the changes which it seems to me should be included in these modern curriculums.

This paper is supposed to be devoted to the discussion of the Fourth Yearbook, but instead I am going to interpret the chairman's letter liberally and use the Yearbook simply as a springboard from which to leap to the thing I wish to say.

Every single article in the Yearbook has been read with interest by the writer and the volume left two or three vivid impressions, such as: (1) There seems to be an almost unanimous agreement among curriculum makers to get away from the straight subject idea of curriculum organization and toward a form of fusion, or as it appears in some cases a form of confusion; (2) the lack of uniformity among the newer social-science curriculums as presented from the different cities; and (3) the lack of general emphasis on the study of the world today.

In the present educational world the placid and contented mind is the one that does not read or

think about the world around him, or possibly attend conventions. The changes that are taking place at the present time, and have occurred during the past few years, amount to nothing less than a social revolution. It is most evident that an educational system that was considered adequate for a late yesterday will not give our boys and girls the proper equipment for the new tomorrow.

EMPHASIS ON CONTEMPORARY LIFE

It is generally conceded today that the emphasis of education should be on a study of contemporary life. We have thought of the school as an agency for civilizing and socializing children. There are two phases to this civilizing and socializing process—the study of the world today and the study of the contributions which the past has made to the present. A study of present-day life without the past would leave our children blind to causes for the things they see. Likewise, a study of the past alone brings the story down to the interesting ending without giving the ending.

What do we mean by a study of contemporary life? Such a study should include the understanding of the social, economic, and political phases of human life today with due regard to the history of civilization and the influencing geographic factors. The social study in the past was chiefly history. Moreover, it was a type of history that looked to the past. The newer studies, such as civics, economics, and sociology, are studies of the present and anticipate the future. These newer studies will train education to lead rather than to follow.

Even though there has been a tendency in our schools for more than twenty years to include current problems, as stated by Professor Johnson that "In the United States, since about 1912, history has been turning more and more to an explanation

* EDITOR'S NOTE: The papers by C. C. Barnes, Edwin W. Reeder, and Miss Gail Farber were read at the morning session of the National Council for the Social Studies, Cleveland, February 24, 1934.

of vital current problems. In that direction, we have probably gone further than any other people,"²² we have a long way yet to go.

However, the idea that education should be concerned with contemporary life is not new. In the days of ancient Rome centuries ago, Petroneous Arbiter wrote in the *Satyricon*, "It is my conviction that the schools are responsible for the gross foolishness of our young men, because in them they see or hear nothing at all of the affairs of everyday life."

The study of contemporary life should be an essential part of education especially at the secondary-school level, and I can agree with Loomis, Principal of the University of Chicago High School, in his contention that "The secondary school in every year of its program should require the study of contemporary life."²³

Naturally, some objections to the study of contemporary life have been offered. Some of the more prominent ones are:

(1) *High school pupils are incapable of understanding present-day life.* This is a reflection on the intelligence of secondary-school pupils. A study of present-day problems with a group of secondary-school boys and girls will convince any one that they do gain an understanding of such problems.

(2) *The study of controversial issues involved in the study of current social problems is unwise for young pupils.* Of course there may be social problems that could not be discussed with the ordinary group of secondary-school pupils, but when it is remembered that senior high-school pupils are on the very threshold of participation in adult life, it is doubtful if there is any social problem which should be excluded from school discussion.

(3) *The claim is made that the study of an informative type of history and geography is preferable.* The study of contemporary life need not exclude history and geography, but rather should include them as a basis for the study.

Truly we stand at the crossroads of a new epoch. Different roads lie ahead, and the signposts are none too easily read. There is only one way to the solution to the problem of building for the future. This is by the way of education, and it is a slow way. It is evolutionary, not revolutionary. A new public mind is to be created. This can be done only by creating millions of new individual minds and welding them into a new social mind. This is the task of building a science of society for the schools. An important step in this process is an intelligent study of the present social order.

What shall be the program for this work in the schools? Whatever the content may be, it will require the coöperative work of specialists in all the social sciences. What Dr. Moulton, President of the Brookings Institution, says about economists

and political scientists in government applies equally well to specialists in education: "By virtue of their restricted training, both the economists and the political scientists are seriously handicapped in analyzing any of the complex problems relating to government control of economic activities. The economist does not know enough about governmental organization, and the political scientist does not know enough about business and economics for either to function with genuine effectiveness." Moulton continues, "The vital need is for men more broadly trained, than are those of our generation, in the related problems of government and industry. I submit that the desired result cannot be obtained merely by giving a graduate student of political science a number of courses in economics, and vice versa. There must be a new and frontal attack made by departments of economics and government jointly on the problems in hand. Gradually, the entire curriculum of these departments must be organized around a common objective."²⁴

Through what kinds of instructional materials and by what procedure should contemporary life be presented to the pupils in our schools today?

SOCIAL GEOGRAPHY

One study that I would suggest for an understanding of contemporary life is Social Geography. By Social Geography, I mean a broad study of the peoples of the world as they live and work and think today. This is a study of present-day society or the "surface civilization" as Rugg calls it. It will depict man contemplating as well as making and doing, working creatively as well as organizing, governing, and exploiting. Then, finally, this study will attempt to relate man's life to the influencing environment.

As I see it, there are four outstanding things that high-school pupils should get from a study of the world today. In the first place, our boys and girls face a new world—a world that their parents did not know. Through the World War and the development of science and inventions the remotest parts of the world have been brought to our homes. The world is one. The necessity of world coöperation has been forced upon us. Never before did we find so many good reasons for knowing about the entire world and its people.

A second goal of education today is the development of social integrity in the various areas whether local, national, or international in scope. The people in different parts of a region should have a sympathetic understanding of one another. Such an understanding soon develops into genuine interest. And where there is understanding and interest there is likely not to be hatred and war.

A third reason why we need to have a knowledge

of the world and its peoples today is that we may read the daily news with understanding. A high-school education should develop reading interests to last throughout a life-time. We are all most interested in things that we know about. Today's newspapers, magazines, and books, as well as the radio news, are full of references to the various places and peoples of the earth.

In the fourth place a study of the world today not only gives the student a basis and background for the study of social problems, but it also gives a picture of social conditions which are part of such problems.

Thus, in order to meet the needs of present-day life, the high schools should provide their pupils with these four things: (1) The feeling of necessity for world coöperation; (2) the need and the desire for social integrity; (3) a cultural background for reading and thought; and (4) a background and basis for the study of modern social problems.

Social geography is a study of the world as it is today. It is a study of the peoples of the earth as they are grouped in geographic or in political regions. The study includes the economic, political, and cultural activities of the people and the relation of each to their natural environment. Social Geography serves as a basis and background for the other social sciences. The sociologists emphasize the influence of the physical environment to the extent that one almost begins to think of Social Geography as sociology. Ross⁵ says that no one disputes the fact that the immediate physical environment dictates the size and local distribution of a population, the key industries, the basic occupations. "In fact," he states, "the environment determines the general economic basis of society." The sociologists also declare that the natural environmental affects the higher life of society—that is, it affects human energy, political thought and form of government, religion, marriage and sex relations, ethical standards, and psychic tendencies.

The proof of the value of such a course as Social Geography is in the values which come to the high-school students from a study of the subject.⁶ From statements submitted by high school principals, high school geography teachers, and high-school students who have completed the course the following are selected:

- (1) Pupils become more familiar with the world of which they are a part.
- (2) It builds up a geographical vocabulary and locative knowledge basic to intelligent general reading.
- (3) It gives meaning to history. It not only shows that history is tomorrow's story of today, but it establishes an intelligent background for the study of the past. It tends to make the people of history more real and human.
- (4) It helps the student to understand other people. This understanding tends to make for friendship.
- (5) It shows that coöperation among all people is essential to the well-being of all peoples.

(6) Geography has a cultural contribution to make. There is cultural value in understanding other people, in knowing how they work, live, and think, and why they do as they do.

(7) It helps in the development of a scientific attitude on the part of pupils. The scientific mind looks for causes, searches for truth, and tries to understand.

In this list of values, I believe that it will be observed that the goals of education stated above, namely, the need for world coöperation, the development of social integrity, and the building up of a world-view cultural background, are all included. Surely the accomplishment of these goals would justify the inclusion of any course in the school curriculum. The course in Social Geography presents a picture of contemporary life; but our story cannot be confined to the current scene. In order to understand our changing civilization, we must see it changing. Our presentation, therefore, must have a rich historical as well as contemporary setting; it must follow the chief trends which lead up to the drama of today. For this purpose, as complete a course in the history of civilization as time will permit should be provided. While the emphasis of history should be to aid in understanding the present, at the same time the cultural contributions of the past must not be overlooked.

CURRENT SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Following one or two years of history, the secondary-school curriculum in social science should close with a year's study of modern social problems. Such a course is definitely in line with the present emphasis on the study of contemporary life. One of the criticisms of the social studies at the present time is that the social sciences other than history are too much neglected in the secondary school. A survey of the recent courses of study will, I believe, bear out this criticism. Such neglect cannot be justified. The Committee on Social Studies in 1916 recommended the study of "Problems of American Democracy: Economic, Social, Political," as a "culminating course of social study in the last year of the high school, with the purpose of giving a more definite, comprehensive, and deeper knowledge of some of the vital problems of social life, and thus of securing a more intelligent and active citizenship."⁷

Two considerations led the Committee to make this recommendation: (1) the difficulty of providing for separate instruction in the many social studies which are claimants for a position in the program of the secondary school; (2) the fact that in actual life the individual faces problems or conditions in which the principles of a number of social sciences are inextricably related. These considerations are as true today as they were when stated by the committee nearly two decades ago. It may be said further that such a combined course in modern social life will

include all that is essential in the three single courses in economics, civics, and sociology.

Probably the greatest value that results from the study of modern social problems is skill in problem solving. In the study of problems we must reverse our usual teaching procedure. We have assumed that growth in generalizing ability comes from the learning of increasingly more difficult generalizations. We have not provided data for problem solving; instead we have too often supplied the pupil with the very generalization which we wish him to deduce. "The truth is that ability to generalize emerges only by constant practice in generalizing. For the pupil to think, he must be confronted by issues. His mind can be disciplined only by direct practice in choosing between alternatives."²⁸ Furthermore, he must have at hand data on various sides of the issue before he can think constructively upon it; and he must be practiced in the habit of questioning data. Thus, and thus only, can he become a sound critic.

Another point to observe in the classroom discussion of present-day problems is that the teacher does not have to oppose argument by contrary argument, nor to settle public issues for pupils; but to help them develop a technique for finding out what are the real alternatives for citizens. In other words, the spirit of science must be brought into play.

The problems that arise in social-science classes are of two general kinds—those that call only for information and explanation; and a second type of question that may be designated as controversial. About all that is needed in the discussion of the first type of question is the necessary information for a satisfactory answer. Controversial questions are not handled so easily. Controversial subjects may be defined as those on which there exist differences of opinion concerning facts, or their interpretation. A controversial question is a debatable one. It cannot be settled arbitrarily one way or the other. It is usually a question upon which people have very decided opinions and one which arouses strong emotional reactions. This type, when it comes up, must be handled skillfully and tactfully, in accordance with the following statement made by Coe: "There is . . . a rising conviction that controversial issues must be brought frankly into the school, that antagonistic views must be fairly stated, and that greater reliance must be placed upon facts, as contrasted with deliberate guidance of opinion."²⁹

In a recent address before the Detroit Teachers Association, Norman Thomas spoke in a similar vein. He said that the absence of free discussion of controversial issues in the classroom has "sterilized education to the point of impotence."

In connection with the discussion of present day

and controversial social problems, the inevitable question arises, "What about propaganda and indoctrination?" In my opinion both should be avoided in the secondary-school classroom. In preparing young people to confront situations of doubt and confusion, far more is involved than instilling a specific conclusion. Indeed the important thing for the student is that he acquire a method of thinking that will enable him to deal honestly, fearlessly, and understandingly with the issues.

Rather than propagandize, we should year after year train children in detecting the symptoms, and resisting the appeal of partisan propaganda.

There are many reasons why we should not indoctrinate.

(1) In the first place, when experts disagree how can a teacher decide?

(2) Indoctrination can only be effective where there is some authority to say that this is right and this is wrong.

(3) Where indoctrination exists propaganda soon becomes the rule.

(4) Indoctrination is characteristic of those governments in which freedom of speech and thought have been destroyed.³⁰

However, probably it would be agreed that indoctrination of underlying principles and economic and physical laws is most necessary, as is the development of social attitudes and habits. But with controversial questions, the case is different.

What should pupils gain from a study and discussion of controversial questions? The following questions may serve both as goals toward which to aim, and as checks on teaching.

1. Has the study resulted in an attitude of openmindedness on the part of the pupil? This does not refer to the type of open mind that admits any and everything that comes along, but instead the mind that can listen to argument and be able to sort the good from the bad.

2. Has he become willing to base all argument on facts and all the facts? A distortion of facts or truth is almost, if not fully, as bad as satisfying.

3. Has the pupil been made critical—that is, practiced in the use of free, cautious judgment in the light of facts—toward the social attitudes of others?

4. Has the pupil been made critical towards his own social attitudes? Has he had experience in revising his judgments where revision has involved both the learning of facts and the overcoming of prejudices of his own?

5. Is he acquiring a truly experimental attitude with respect to social policies? Has he a habit of thinking of social events in terms of cause and effect?

6. Has he readily been made able to detect propaganda and to eliminate it from the discussion of social problems?

7. Is he able to suspend judgment on an issue? This does not mean that a person should not be able to make up his mind, but that he should not jump at conclusions. When all the available facts are in, one should be able at least to make a tentative decision, holding, of course, the right to change his mind later if new evidence is presented.

8. Is he able to detect and avoid the following common errors: statement of fact without evidence, misstatement of facts, wrong interpretation of facts, false conclusion from data, conclusion without sufficient data, inaccurate quoting, substituting probability and hearsay for facts?

Thus I would include in the three or four year high-school social-science curriculum (1) a study of the world today as Social Geography; (2) the

history of civilization as a background of understanding of today; and (3) a study of present-day social problems with emphasis on the technique of problem solving.

THE SOCIAL-SCIENCE TEACHER

I do not wish to leave the impression that with a revised curriculum our problems are solved. Of what value would the best curriculum be without the right kind of teachers? If the three factors of instruction were placed in rank order they would probably be (1) the teacher; (2) subject matter; and (3) method. There is an amazingly small difference in the results of teaching by different methods. But when we try an experiment of any kind, we always make sure that teachers are comparable.

Above all the teacher of social science is an important factor. Charles A. Beard, in a recent address before a group of social-science teachers in Detroit in speaking of the needs of social-science teachers said "these teachers must study more widely, sharpen their wisdom, stand four-square to all the winds that blow, and solemnly resolve that they will discharge their responsibility as they are given to see it in the best light of their age. They must have more and better training, more leisure for the pursuit of knowledge concerning their subjects, fewer hours of instruction, more time to study, and the larger salaries necessary to the continuous pursuit of advanced research. They are in a different position from that of a teacher of Latin or mathematics. The subject matter of their instruction is infinitely difficult and it is continually changing." And Beard concludes with the statement: "If American democracy is to fulfill its high mission, then those who train its youth must be among the wisest, most fearless, and most highly trained men and women this broad land can furnish."

More is needed, however, than training in the making of a teacher. It is true that since they are bearers of culture they should have the broad cultural training about which Beard speaks. But a teacher first of all must be a dynamic personality and possess a progressive, forward-looking philosophy of life and of education.

A philosophy of life is not only for adults. "Instead, it is something that we all acquire during childhood."¹¹ Unless we are willing to have the blind leading the blind or what is worse, having the blind blinding the eyes of our youth, we must look further in the selection of our teachers than mere scholastic achievement.

Social science is the science of human relationships. It is evident, therefore, that a teacher of social science should be a person of broad interests and broad experience. It is not enough to be well informed in the various fields of human knowledge;

the social-science teacher should be acquainted with life. To quote Beard once more, teachers "must secure for themselves a clear and realistic picture of modern society, gain insight into the central concepts of our industrial order and its culture, acquire habits of judicially examining its issues and problems, develop the power to look with calm and untroubled eyes upon the varieties of social pressures which bear in upon them, and nourish, by wide study, their capacity for dealing justly and courageously with current modes of living."¹²

In closing I wish to quote from an editorial in a recent number of the *Journal of Education*. The editorial bore the title "Today's History Teacher." This editorial provides me with a splendid summary of what I have tried to say in emphasizing the study of current social problems and the place of the teacher in modern education. The editorial reads as follows:

Up until about sixteen years ago, history was a study that could have been taught by almost anybody with a memory for dates and outlines and an ability to transmit narratives from books to pupils. In those days history ended with the last date given in the textbook.

The teaching of history today is a different matter. Momentous events are occurring daily.

No longer can the teaching of history, government or economics be entrusted safely to persons dwelling in the past. The social studies belong to the mentally alert, the socially responsive, to those who can interpret occurrences and movements and be soundly progressive without being blown about by every new wind of doctrine. It needs teachers who can cultivate in pupils the right social attitudes and the power to form wise judgments leading to wise action.

Only the backgrounds of history are in books. Its foregrounds are in the daily newspapers.

A history teacher of 1934 who does not study the really significant news of the day is not a history teacher but a dodo.¹³

¹ Judd, Charles H. *Problems of Education in the United States*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933, p. 87.

² Johnson, Henry, *An Introduction to the History of the Social Sciences in Schools*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932, p. 134.

³ Loomis A. K., "Should Contemporary Life Be Studied in High School?" *The Nation's Schools*, XIII (February, 1934), p. 31.

⁴ Moulton, H. G., "The University and Governmental Changes," *Scientific Monthly*, XXXVI (January, 1933).

⁵ Ross, E. A., *Principles of Sociology*. Ch. VII. New York: Century, 1930.

⁶ "A course in Social Geography is offered in the Tenth Grade in Detroit high schools."

⁷ N. E. A. Committee on Social Studies, "The Social Studies in Secondary Education." U. S. Bureau of Education, *Bulletin*, 1916, No. 28.

⁸ Rugg, H. O., *Building a Science of Society for the Schools*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1934.

⁹ Coe, George A., *Educating for Citizenship*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932, p. 74.

¹⁰ Greenan, John T., *Junior and Senior High School Clearing House*, VIII (October, 1933).

¹¹ Finney, Ross L., *Sociological Philosophy of Education*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1928, p. 289.

¹² Beard, Charles A., *A Charter for the Social Sciences in the School*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932, pp. 90-91.

¹³ Editorial, *Journal of Education*, CXVII (January 15, 1934).

II. Some Impressions of the National Council Yearbook

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To discuss a yearbook which has been written by several persons each with his own point of view is a manifestly difficult or dangerous job. Obviously, it would be impossible in the time allotted to me to discuss in detail each article in the book. On the other hand, if I discuss my impressions of the book, I am open to the criticism of any one writer that I have misinterpreted his contribution, or what is much more serious, that I have not even read it. Dangerous as is the plan of discussing my impressions, however, I am forced by lack of time to adopt it, and this introductory paragraph is in the nature of a blanket apology to any or all whom I shall treat with apparent unfairness.

One of the most disturbing impressions I received from the Yearbook is that many of its authors have a whole-hearted contempt for what they call facts as such. This is a very common expression in educational parlance, and I suspect that it means either too little or too much to be very useful. If it means the mere memorization of such things as dates in history or place locations in geography, without any reference to the use or meaning of such facts, then I believe it is safe to say that educational theorists for a hundred years at least have been declaiming against such a practice. I have a geography printed in 1814, the chief value of which, according to the author, is that it teaches the child to think instead of merely to memorize facts. If the expression "facts as such" means, then, such raw, uninterpreted and meaningless data as I have indicated, then I can see nothing new or important in taking a stand against the practice of having children learn them.

If, however, as I suspect, the expression includes exact knowledge and information in general, then I think we had better stop, look, and listen before we are contemptuous of it in this complicated and difficult world today. Let us consider the situation of the child in the twentieth century. A paradoxical development has been taking place in the situation he is to face as an adult. He needs to know much less and much more than did his ancestors of one hundred or more years ago. Life has become both simpler and more complex.

I mean by this that the ordinary processes of living have become much more simple as inventions,

industrialization, and urbanization have developed. The child of the colonial era had to learn to make candles, spin and weave, milk a cow, harness and care for a horse, manufacture furniture, build a house or cabin, calculate the capacity of bins or cisterns and do the manifold other duties which were necessary when modern inventions were in their infancy and when the family was the unit of industrial production.

Today life is much simpler in matters of everyday living than in colonial days. Gas, electricity, automobiles, factories, telephones, furnaces, railroads and the like have made it unnecessary for the twentieth century child even to gain a smattering of great areas of knowledge and skill which were a vital necessity to the colonial child.

At the same time that life has become simpler in some respects, however, it has become infinitely more complex in others. The development of means of transportation and communication has made the whole world into one community. In point of travel time, New York and San Francisco are closer together today than were New York and Philadelphia in 1800, while Europe is as near to America as Boston was to New York. A voyage round the world is far less hazardous today than was a voyage by water from New York to Charleston in post-revolutionary days.

With radio and cables, the whole world is, so to speak, calling over our back fence. With the complications of world trade and commodity interdependence that exist today what affects one country may easily affect all. A row in Persia may raise the price of gasoline in New York; a war in Japan may help to dispose of the excess cotton crop in our South.

The world at the present time reminds me of the way in which we as children used to set blocks on end in a long row, then knock over the first block and watch the whole row successively topple over.

When one lives on a farm ten miles from his nearest neighbor with whom he has no business dealings, it is not very important that he shall understand that neighbor. But when one lives next door to a man and is constantly engaged in business dealings with him, then it is important for one to understand him. As long as America was separated by

three or four weeks of ocean travel from the rest of the world and was largely sufficient unto herself, it was not so important that her citizens have exact knowledge of the rest of the world. But now with the whole world a closely knit community, exact and well understood information about the whole world is a very necessary attribute of a good citizen.

A complex world situation such as we have today requires then not only a profound knowledge of many fields by national executives and legislators; it also requires a most enlightened citizenry to support enlightened action by those in authority.

It is all very well to say that our children will face new problems when they grow up and that therefore we should be chiefly concerned with developing in them attitudes, points of view, standards and values. But all of these ought to rest on the basis of facts, information, knowledge; or else they are apt to be merely emotional and unstable. Knowledge, then, as the basis for such attitudes, standards, and values becomes profoundly important. Can we trust children, or for that matter, the average social-studies teacher, to select these facts, standards and values?

Here is what the committee of the National Education Association on the Social and Economic Goals of America has to say in this matter.

The rôle of the expert in social science is little understood. That the energies of many are being dissipated in fruitless attempts to be critical of values and standards which they are not prepared to appraise is quite obvious. It seems clear also that with the present enormous amount of information and experience bearing upon almost any one of these standards and values, no one person, however, competent and critical, can encompass the whole field. Each must accept values as established by others in whom he has confidence. Furthermore, to see each value clearly in the pattern of the whole social fabric calls for many critical minds brought to focus upon the mutual interrelationships of all these standards and values.

It seems to me, that instead of being contemptuous of mere knowledge or facts, we should have so profound a respect for them, and be so concerned with them that we should enlist the best brains in the country to select and organize the ones we ought to teach to our children.

May I pass now to the second impression which I received from the Yearbook. In a poem which I used to enjoy as a child and which describes one of the many conflicts of the Swiss in their struggle for national freedom, the following words are used to describe the spirit of the Swiss peasants:

Each felt as though himself were he
On whose sole arm hung victory.

These words express the true spirit of the reformer in such a time of difficulty as we face at the present, both in the world in general and in our country in particular. Whether one believes in the

return to the old gold standard, the free coinage of silver, the curtailment of capitalism, the abolition of armaments or new ideals of the teaching of the social studies, he is inclined to believe that on the sole aim of his theories hangs victory.

This spirit is very noticeable in many of the articles in the yearbook we are considering today. The enthusiast for the social studies finds great difficulty in curbing his belief in their efficacy sufficiently to admit that they represent but one phase of the school life of the child; while the school itself represents but one phase of the total life of the child.

I am not implying, of course, that there is anything wrong with the belief in the importance of good teaching of the social studies for in that case I would have to admit myself as the chief of sinners. But I am convinced that if we allow our enthusiasm to imbue us too much with the spirit of the crusader so that we claim too much for our field, we will become diffuse, unanalytical, and uncritical in our thinking. We will then fail to consider calmly the precise place of our field in the total life of the child, and we will lay ourselves open to the same kind of ridicule and contempt as have fallen to the lot of those who would teach character building, for example, in two or three half-hours of direct instruction each week.

This spirit of making too extravagant claims is chiefly evident in the statement of the aims for the social studies. Here the reader recognizes again and again the famous seven cardinal principles of secondary education either verbatim or in paraphrased form. Now these principles state the aims of the total educational program, and if our field cannot analyze its particular, specialized function in attaining them, then we lay ourselves open to the criticism either of having no real aims and objectives of our own, or else of arrogating to ourselves responsibilities which are too great for us.

There is some evidence in the Yearbook that we may be taken at our word in these extravagant claims for our field. I stand appalled at the conclusions of Superintendent White as to what he expects from his teachers of the social studies. His article gives the impression that he expects them to educate the children while teachers of all other subjects need simply impart a few facts. I was reminded when I read his article of the man who used to watch a dog that every day chased the trains passing his home. The man used to wonder what the dog would do with a train if he caught it. Superintendent White's article made me feel that we social-studies teachers had caught a train.

It seems to me that one large factor in good social living and therefore in good citizenship is sound quantitative thinking. This is the province of arith-

metic. Surely, moreover, an appreciative understanding of the scientific aspects of modern life belongs to a large degree with the teacher of science. One of the best uses for leisure time—good reading—should be stimulated by the literature teacher. Moreover the whole so-called extra-curricular life of the school has a heavy responsibility for training in citizenship.

WHAT WE NEED

What we need desperately, then, is a clear cut, incisive definition or description of the precise aims which the social studies, and the social studies alone, can realize. I find the nearest approach to such a description in the accounts of the curricula of the Chicago Laboratory School, and of Reading, Massachusetts. I am very much inclined to the opinion that this clarity of aim in these two courses of study is correlative with the point of view on the organization of subject matter which is evident in these two courses. And this brings me to my third impression of the Yearbook which has to do, then, with this topic of the organization of subject matter in the social studies. And may I state now that I am dealing on this point chiefly with the organization in the elementary school which is the only part of the school system on which I feel competent to pass an opinion.

If, as I have already stated, there is a lack of a clear statement of aims for the social studies, there is almost sure to be a lack of any sure basis for organization. When one organizes anything, he does so in terms of what he is trying to do. If he does not know very clearly what he is trying to do, then his organization will also be diffuse and feeble.

In the elementary school, at least, this condition is not likely to obtain when separate geography and history are taught there, as is the case in the Chicago Laboratory School and in Reading, Massachusetts. Geography and history each has a definite aim and purpose of its own. Each is, so to speak, going somewhere, and therefore can see what steps to take to attain its goal. These steps are in the form of definite knowledge, appreciation and understanding. Each subject represents to a large degree a structure for which reasonably definite plans and building materials are necessary and indicated.

For confirmation of this contention may I refer to the thirty-second Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education which deals with the teaching of geography. In this book will be found a clear cut, definite statement of the aims of geography teaching and then a statement of the

authors' best judgment as to the order of curricular content to attain the goals. There is an orderliness of content which I find singularly lacking in most of the plans for integrated social studies in elementary school.

As a result of this lack of any accepted and orderly progression of curriculum content, in the social studies, two unfortunate results are evident in several of the curricula in the Yearbook.

The first of these is the scrappy, fragmentary character of the progression of the various units which results in my judgment in huge gaps in the knowledge of the children. These gaps do not bother the integrationist very much, but if my earlier contentions regarding the importance of knowledge and information are accepted, then such gaps are exceedingly unfortunate. As one of the authors of the Yearbook on geography which I have already mentioned, I know that I should regard the geography which seems to be implied by some of the curricula in the Social Studies Yearbook as appallingly inadequate.

The second unfortunate result of this lack of organization grows from the first. If the knowledge gained in the elementary school is scrappy and inadequate, then the teacher in the secondary school has a miserably unstable foundation on which to build. I am a firm believer in a series of integrating courses in the secondary school which will give a total picture of our world to the students. But if the children's elementary school preparation in geography and history has been scrappy and inadequate, then the secondary-school teacher faces the impossible task of attempting to integrate ignorance. It cannot be done.

The difficulty in the matter is, in my opinion, that the curriculum makers do not see clearly the purposes of the various parts of the child's school life. In the primary grades the child is first introduced to the problems of learning to read, to write, to use numbers and to interpret his experiences. In the intermediate grades, he continues the stimulating, varied and interesting experiences of his first three school years, but at the same time he begins to analyze, sort, arrange and classify his information so that he learns consciously to interpret his ideas, which as a result become richer, clearer and more meaningful. This means a subject organization of the curriculum. It does not mean, of course, a non-functional or memorizer type of learning although this claim is often made by the integrationist. One can study straight geography or straight history through the use of rich, interesting, meaningful and childlike problems just as surely as he can study the integrated social studies through similar means.

In the secondary school, the pupil continues the analytical study of human life and experience through a pursuit of the separate subjects, but also should have experience, as I have already stated, with a series of integrating courses in which he deepens his understanding of contemporary social conditions and learns to diagnose their ills and to seek remedies. But under such a plan, he attacks the problems of society with a rich background of

geography and history so that his solutions may be based on sound facts, understood both by themselves and also in their setting of related facts.

I am convinced that such a plan as I have just outlined will escape the vapidness and superficiality of many current courses in the social studies and will train future citizens of whom it may be said, "They shall know the truth and the truth shall make them free."

III. The Meeting of the National Council of the Social Studies

GAIL FARBER

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I think it may be well to begin my comments on the social-studies curriculum with some remarks as to the way in which the teacher is affected by the current widespread interest in and criticism of and teaching of the social studies.

In the first place, one feels gratified; it is like a dream come true; to find the subject in which one is particularly interested becoming one of general interest. It justifies the teacher's belief in the importance of his subject.

His second reaction, as the discussion about him continues, is that of surprise at the similarity (almost identity) of the ideas of the public in general and his own on what is essential in the social-studies curriculum today.

This feeling of surprise turns into one of slight amazement at learning of suggestions that he begin teaching certain facts which the teacher of history has for a long time been finding necessary to include in his presentation of that subject.

However, these sentiments are not the dominant ones in our thinking of the problem. The feeling uppermost in our minds is that of joy in the fact that groups of people all over the country are thinking about the seriousness of our social, political, and economic problems and are looking to the schools as one of the institutions which can contribute to a better understanding of our situation today. It is the most encouraging sign of the times. The fact that it required a depression, with all its suffering, to make us generally conscious of the faults in our system of society, economics, and government, need not detract from our satisfaction at finding them on the way to some sort of solution.

Teachers, I feel sure, will welcome all the just criticisms, and will gladly cooperate with any individuals and groups who have constructive ideas

to contribute to this common problem and a willingness to spend time in working for its solution.

We must make no mistake at the outset as to the degree of the difficulties ahead.

Dr. Wilson asked me to give my own views, as a teacher of history, on the curriculum needs of today in the field of the social studies. I shall try to center my remarks on a few of those phases of the curriculum which are most "under fire" and with those phases which the Fourth Yearbook emphasizes. Also, I should like to say at the outset that it would be well to cast aside the idea that "all that is, is wrong" in social studies. It is not as bad as that.

In any discussion of curriculum, no matter what the subject may be, the purpose of education is the first major consideration. It has been a long time now since teachers looked upon their pupils as so many heads to be furnished. Certainly, today, it is generally recognized that learning to live together is the chief goal of education. Our greatest need at the present time is to learn just this—the art of living together. This does not at all minimize the importance of the development of the individual, but it does imply a changed relation between the individual and society and a changed emphasis. It is still the purpose of education to help the individual find his latent powers and develop them to the greatest capacity which he can attain. But—and this is the essential new emphasis needed—he should be led to realize that there is a higher purpose than self; that his abilities have social implications. If, in other words, our schools could inculcate in the minds of young people the idea of service to society, rather than to self alone, we would be taking the next necessary step in learning to live as a socialized group. I say "necessary" because it seems to me

that if individuals lack the ideals which make for a better social life, despotism may be better than democracy. Dr. Overstreet in his book "We Move in New Directions"¹ expressed it this way: "The schools and colleges must come to know that it is not their task to prepare young people for the kind of life that now largely exists in the adult world, but rather to utilize the time at their command for developing more generous human relationships! The schools and colleges have done much to develop a fine playing-together relationship. (The most important of these will be the working-together relationships.) Good sportsmanship is perhaps the most precious ethical quality that has come out of modern education. There needs also to be developed a kind of good sportsmanship in working together, the spirit of generous contribution, of recognition of the contributions of others, and that spirit which cares more about the success of the joint enterprise than about individual distinction."

An English clergyman expresses it this way: "No man can be a man alone. He only becomes a man as a part of a society of human beings. To give and take of keen and friendly minds expresses the very meaning of life."

In reading the Fourth Yearbook I find each curriculum discussion preceded by a statement of aims and purposes, and in each case emphasis is put on the need for a more highly socialized civilization.

In the course of study outlined, attempts are made to teach the interdependence of life today; of employers and employees, producers and consumers, nation and nation. The most obvious field in which to develop this idea of coöperation and interdependence is that of economics. It is therefore not surprising to find an increased emphasis on economics as a social study. It should be found in the curriculum of every senior high school.

The word "citizenship" is found more frequently than any other in discussion of social studies today. That it is the duty of the school to train young people for active citizenship is beyond dispute. But it is not the duty of the school alone. In fact, the school can not accomplish this without the active coöperation of the home, the church, and every other social organization. For what is the fundamental essential of good citizenship? Character, surely, is the answer. And no one would for a minute entertain the belief that the school, and the social-studies department of the school, constitutes the sole agency making for the training of character. The school can advance very little further with the child than the community too will go.

It is true that much of our trouble today is due to lack of information on economic questions on the part of the masses of people. But more at the root of the trouble is a break-down in character.

Surely most of the influential bankers, business men and politicians who betrayed the public did it from no lack of information. That may have been slightly the explanation; but to a much larger degree it was due to an indifference to the welfare of others—a centering on self—with little regard to the social consequences.

"Political Citizenship" is a phrase much heard. One of Dr. Snedden's recent books is entitled *Education for Political Citizenship*.² He urges the teaching of political citizenship as a separate subject with especially trained teachers. I did not find in the Fourth Yearbook any such course. I did find, however, a great emphasis on the teaching of the phases of civics which deal with citizen-participation, election issues, paying taxes, voting, serving on juries—all are being emphasized, and always have been.

There are a number of reasons for stressing the personal in government. One of the most important is, I think, that we are prone to regard the government as something mechanical. Our phraseology may contribute to this: we speak of the party "machine," the governmental "machine," etc.

Unconsciously we come to regard it as something that will run itself with a little manipulation by the voter at regular intervals. Every four years we wind it up—then it keeps on going—unless it runs out of oil!

In addition to this the teachers are urged to point out the defects of our present system of government; not to represent the system as perfect, leaving the student to find out the political evils later. Again, may I say that it is gratifying to find such wide-spread sanction of an established practice. If communities wish a greater emphasis on this phase of the study of the government, I am sure they will find the teachers quite willing to fulfill their wishes. May I, at this point, make a suggestion as to a very vital way in which the community may aid the teacher? Let us suppose that a class has been studying one of those periods in local history which we would so much rather omit; but since it is a part of the history it must be included. The class has been made acquainted with unusually great divergence between campaign promises and fulfillment, the inefficiency and waste, prevalence of crime to which the officials seem to be rather indifferent, etc., through the shadows. Then a picture is presented of "how things might be." The students are urged to work for a better government when they become voters. So far, so good. But there is something that is lacking in this picture; something which is the teacher's greatest need at this point. Of course the students are thinking to themselves, and some one will invariably ask, "Well, why isn't something being done now about it? Why wait for us?" Won't you

admit that this is a fair question? Right here is the place that the forward-looking members of a community might come to the aid of the teacher. If only we could say more often than is usually possible: "Mr. A. is fighting for improvement in the civil service; Mr. B. won't let up until there is a reduction in crime, etc." The way to inspire these young people is to show them examples of citizens unafraid to stand out for what they think is right. If more of the socially-prominent people of a community would join in an active fight for better government, they would find a wide response in the ranks of high-school students. Young people need leaders today; leaders from the ranks of the adult population.

Personally, I dislike this phrase, "political citizenship." It seems to imply that the citizen in his political capacity is different from the citizen in other capacities. Is there a citizenship which the individual has for the home; another for the school; still another for his church; and then a still different one for his government? Rather it seems to me that we should emphasize the fact that the best citizen will exhibit high standards in all phases of his life. Would it not be better to try to understand our whole lives in the light of the citizen idea outlined above; in the light of a common good?

WORLD HISTORY

Another of our great concerns is to attempt to give our students a wider outlook of world affairs. An indispensable requirement in attaining this wider view is the study of the history of other countries. In our pre-occupation with national affairs at the present time, there is danger of giving too little attention to the rest of the world. I was delighted to find that is not the case in the cities whose courses are outlined in the Fourth Yearbook. On the other hand, I find an increasing attention paid to world history both in the elementary grades and in high school. Reading, Massachusetts, has a particularly fine course. There the study of European history is optional with the students who are going to college for they will have a chance to study it in their college courses. It is a required subject with those who are not continuing their formal education beyond the high school.

Very often when people complain that history does not mean much to them, it is due to the fact that they have not pursued through their school years the consecutive story of the past. Their courses very likely consisted of a bit of Rome; a little more of Greece; perhaps some mention of Germany; and much, very much, of the United States.

This fact is brought to the attention of senior high-school teachers of United States history when

they find pupils in their classes who have not studied European history. The pupil soon realizes that his background for the study of his country's history is exceedingly meager. He may have been in two or three Boston "massacres," tea parties, etc., but what he needs is a perspective of the whole world story.

In addition to the advantage of having the European background for his study of United States history, the pupil in studying world history has an introduction to the great civilizations of the world. A knowledge of the long, slow development of civilization has the effect of creating an appreciation for it and a desire to see it carried on.

Again, the elimination of race prejudice is one of the chief objectives in the social studies. What better way is there to do this than to study the history of the races and find out that they all have contributed something to the world's civilization?

The world has become so small that we are all neighbors and therefore should become internationally-minded. Now, if this is to be more than an inspiring diplomatic phrase, we must take steps to know the history of other countries, to understand their ambitions and their points of view, so that we may be able to form an intelligent and just opinion of them. Our tendency is to make "snap judgments" and to minimize the difficulties surrounding world problems. Our usual reaction to some disturbing event is to consider one side wholly right and the other side wholly wrong. A study of the history back of these disturbances generally shows that there is a great deal of "right" on both sides. The degree of guilt and innocence depends on how far back we go.

CONTEMPORARY HISTORY

I have often thought that it would be a fine arrangement to devote the last semester of the high-school social-students course to a course of contemporary affairs. I find that this is now being done in several cities. In only a few years after graduation from the high school our students will, we hope, be taking an active part in the government; they will be a part of the great body of "public opinion." The devotion of their last semester in high school to as intensive a study as possible of the events and developments of the day would sharpen their interest and perhaps carry over into later years. By their senior year, the students will have had a chance to study history and therefore have some knowledge on which to base their study of the present. A course of this kind can show the unity of the forces of life and at the same time their complexity. Each problem can be taken up with a study of its background and the various elements entering into it can be seen. No problem today is purely economic, or purely anything else. But it is only

with a serious study of them that this point is realized. People would be a little more patient with the ones in power in their attempts to solve the difficulties if they knew the complications which enter into them. At the same time, it would bring home to the students the necessity for obtaining the best talent for positions of responsibility.

CAPITALIST SYSTEM

I should like to mention one more of the major problems which have confronted the social-studies teachers. As an observer of American life, he could not help being aware of many injustices and absurdities in our economic system. The necessity for control and planning our resources has been pointed out by writers in the field of economics for years. The census of 1890 which carried the information that the free lands were practically exhausted was one of the sign posts which should have become a guide post.

Historians have been condemning the refined banditry of some of the capitalist leaders. Professor Schlessinger refers to a few of their practices as "the ethics of the jungle"—not intending, I take it, to compliment the jungle.

The teachers have been confronted with the problem of what attitude to take on this matter: of defending the entire system just because it was the system; or condemning the entire system because some of the practices were bad; or of presenting the capitalist system as it appears in our historical development, pointing out its defects and changes which might result in benefit to the public. Its defects are so glaring that one could not miss them if he tried. But a spirit of caution taught by history makes us hesitate to denounce a system completely and urge its break-up until something else has developed to take its place or otherwise we might find ourselves in a worse, instead of a better, situation. The people must have confidence in a new system. We would not want to be in the position of the teacher who wrote this:

Tom Brown, a boy who seldom tries,
Was taught by me to dramatize;
He acted Brutus to the life,
And killed Joe Turner with a knife.
Of course, he overdid his part,
But that's not what I took to heart.
I think it was a beastly shame
To say "The teacher was to blame."

Promised lands are not reached in a day. If they are to be reached at all and without a great up-

heaval, there must be a general appreciation for the need for change and a conviction that something better will result. Professor Overstreet writes:

"The promised land into which we are seeking entrance is one in which there will be intelligent control of resources for the common welfare. Have we today minds capable of entering such a promised land? When we think of the low motivation and the unintelligent wastefulness that our system has involved, we are inclined to answer in the negative. But our self-distrust is doubtless excessive. Important changes have taken place in our mental make-up, but they have occurred so gradually that we have, for the most part, failed to take note of them. However, an analysis of what has happened to ourselves within the past few decades reveals that we are today a very different folk from what we formerly were. For this difference we may thank the very profit-economy whose passing away we are now happily anticipating."

He then goes on to mention some of the things we have the capitalist system to thank for. A confidence in the scientific and technological approaches to life; a skepticism as to traditional governmental forms and procedures; despite the vulgarization which it effected in its mercenary stimulation of many of our lower impulses, it nevertheless made possible for millions of us access to the triumphs of man's art and in so doing raised the level of our appreciations; it has contributed to our present level of working together, even though it is far from perfect; it has emphasized the importance of health and in many other ways has contributed to our advance. "The profit economy," says Professor Overstreet, "went out to find riches for itself and achieved new riches of life for us all. And now, we, raised to a higher plane of understanding and intelligence, confront the profit-economy and ask that it move to a nobler level.

Such an interpretation, it seems to me, is fair to give. "What has happened to us in the past decades has been neither all good nor all bad."

I think our social-studies courses today should emphasize, along with other points, these that have just been mentioned: the individual's place in the social group; development of better citizenship; a realistic study of present governmental organization and suggestion for its improvement; world history; and a critical analysis of our economic system. Such courses, I am convinced, would result in satisfaction to the student and benefit to society.

¹ New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1933.

² New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932.

Training for Citizenship in the Secondary Schools of New York City I¹

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Educators are justly perturbed that election scandals, graft, and inefficiency in government have not declined with increased educational facilities. They are eagerly groping for methods by which higher standards of citizenship can be developed. Their points of view sometimes diverge; they do not always agree upon what is good training or upon what are the best civic attitudes. Their terminology is not always uniform; what one calls patriotism, another calls nationalism, but they all seek the same end—the development of an intelligent, interested, and active citizenry. Many serious observers believe that until such standards are attained the morale of the American government will not be improved.

A knowledge of present conditions is essential to the development of new standards. The following article represents a survey of the citizenship training in nine of New York City's largest high schools. The material was obtained from answers to a questionnaire filled in by three hundred and nine students who had recently graduated from these schools, and from statements made by the teachers of the social sciences, by the heads of the departments of history and civics, by the director of civics, and by the associate superintendent in charge of the high schools. Such sources have their limitations. The questionnaire was presented to groups of college freshmen and sophomores in four institutions of higher learning in New York City. They represented a selected group of high school graduates, the large number that never attend college were not reached. Most of the questions, however, were objective in character, and it is doubtful that they would have been answered differently by non-college students.

It was intended originally that the survey should cover all of the New York City high schools. This undertaking proved to be too ambitious, and nine representative schools were selected. They included a girls' school, a boys' school and a co-educational school from each of New York's largest boroughs—Manhattan, Brooklyn, and the Bronx. Two of them professed to be college preparatory, and their students were selected on a scholarship basis; but the data obtained from them proved that they were not unlike the other schools with regard to civic training. All were academic institutions; the con-

clusions are not applicable to industrial schools.

Every effort was made to obtain as accurate information as possible. The papers of the students who had spent less than three years in the high school from which they were graduated were discarded and most of the students whose answers were used had spent four years in the same institution. In general, the answers checked themselves—when thirty-five or forty students from the same school answer a factual question in the same way, the chances are that their memories serve them well. Where the questions pertain to an attitude rather than a fact, the answers are less conclusive; but even then group reactions are significant.

The survey can be divided into three fields of inquiry: (1) Formal civic education or classroom work. Most of this information was obtained from staff members. (2) The development of nationalism outside of the classroom. (3) Political experience obtained in school and civic attitudes developed through this experience.

FORMAL CIVIC EDUCATION

The requirements for graduation from the New York high schools include one unit in American history and civics, and an additional half unit in civics.² The half unit, in community civics, is usually given in the first year of high school. The unit in American history and civics is generally given in the senior year. The civics in this course pertains to our national government and occupies about six weeks of the time. This means that in the four years of high school training only about thirty classroom hours are set apart for the formal study of the problems of the federal government and the machinery with which it attempts to solve them.

The text books were selected by heads of departments from an approved list drawn up by a committee appointed by the associate superintendent in charge of the high schools. Eight of the schools had adopted Rexford's *Our City—New York*³ as a text for community civics. All nine of the schools used Muzzy's *History of the American People*⁴ for the history course, although some of them supplemented it with other texts. There was less uniformity in the choice of texts for the course in advanced civics. Magruder's *American Government*,⁵ Woodburn and

Moran's *The Citizen and the Republic*,⁶ Guiteau's *Government and Politics in the United States*,⁷ and Mathews' *Essentials of American Government*⁸ were variously selected by the different schools. One school did not use a text.

A few questions were asked of the students in an effort to discover what materials, other than textbooks, were used, and what special attitudes, interests, and habits were cultivated. In answer to the question, *Were you required to keep abreast with current events in connection with your study of civics and American government*, two hundred and fifty-two students said *Yes*, thirty-two said *No*, twenty-five did not answer. Evidently the majority of the classes did spend some time on current events of a civic nature. But where did they get their information? One hundred and ninety-three said they subscribed to small current-events papers through their school. Classroom bulletin boards were devoted to news articles in all the schools, and about one-third of the students made scrap books of political events. More than half of the students said they were tested on this part of the work. These answers indicate that the study of civics was well seasoned with information upon current questions, but they do not show how comprehensive such information was, nor does it follow that the students were developing a taste for the longer articles of the popular press.

They were next asked if they were encouraged to read the governmental news in the daily papers, and if so to indicate whether conservative, liberal or radical papers were recommended.

The answers to this question are set forth in the following table:

TABLE I
TYPES OF PAPERS THE STUDENTS WERE ENCOURAGED
TO READ

Papers	Number of Mentions
Conservative	52
Liberal	21
Radical	0
Conservative and Liberal	20
Liberal and Radical	2
All types	11
Not encouraged at all*	79
No reply	124

* These students wrote "No" after all types.

Any interpretation of the answers must take into consideration the fact that this question was more subjective than most of those included in the questionnaire. The large number that omitted it also detracts from its value. Unfortunately it was so framed that an omission may have been intended to indicate that the student was not encouraged to

read any paper—probably that was the purpose back of some of the omissions. One or two things about these answers, however, do seem significant. First, nearly half of those who answered it wrote "No" after all types of papers, or wrote—sometimes in very large letters—"Not encouraged at all." Second, the type of paper most generally read is interesting. Conservative papers lead the list. This may not be so significant as it seems because of the subjectiveness of the question and because conservative papers frequently contain more governmental news and are therefore more useful in a civics course. That thirty-three students said they were encouraged to read more than one type of paper indicates that a few teachers are trying to develop the students' powers of discrimination. The fact that the radical papers were not exclusively recommended by any teacher will cause no great surprise among educators but it might be used to contradict the statement occasionally made in the press that New York educational institutions encourage radicalism.

In answer to the question, *Were controversial questions freely discussed in the classroom*, the majority of the students in every school said that they were and that all sides of the questions were presented. There was, however, more disagreement on this question than on most of them, and probably the only conclusion that can be drawn is that the majority of the students questioned were not conscious of suppression.

New York students are frequently accused of being provincial. Doubtless, students everywhere are inclined to judge the rest of the country through the stereotypes of their community, but in New York City this tendency is emphasized by the fact that most of the teachers are born, raised, and educated within the metropolitan area. Illustrations of provincialism are plentiful. A graduate of one of the New York City high schools once said to the writer, "How was the eighteenth amendment ever adopted, I have never met anyone who believed in it?" Again in 1928 many students were sure that Alfred E. Smith would be elected, and, if the memories of the graduates are at all reliable, it is still being taught in some of the schools that nothing but his religion prevented him from becoming president. All other elements that entered into that campaign such as Coolidge prosperity, the influence of Tammany Hall, and prohibition are given little or no weight in the New York stereotype of that election. One question was put into the questionnaire to see whether any effort was being made to counteract this tendency. The question was, *Were you encouraged to read the newspapers of other localities?* It may not have been a fair criterion of the broadening influence that it was designed to measure, partic-

ularly in a city that has so many excellent newspapers, and the answers are given without any attempt to evaluate them. One hundred and ninety-eight students answered *No*, fifty-five answered *Yes*, and fifty-six did not answer.

Still another type of educational activity was investigated. How far was the government itself used as a primary source in the study of civics? Was its structure and operation a part of the laboratory equipment?

All but one of the schools studied had conducted student trips to Washington so that those students who could afford to go could visit the seat of the federal government. These trips were carefully supervised and could easily be called a part of the formal training of those who participated in them. About twelve per cent of the students questioned had gone on these trips; probably a still smaller percentage of the entire student body had had such an opportunity since those who go to college usually represent the more prosperous families. Local trips, more easily afforded, might have had a wider influence. These seem to have been neglected.

TABLE II
PLACES VISITED IN CONNECTION WITH THE
SCHOOL WORK

Places	Extra Credit for Visiting	Required to Visit	Conducted Trip	Total Visits
City Hall	11	38*	2	51
Statue of Liberty	20	10*	12	42
Fraunces' Tavern	8	25*	6	39
Ellis Island	8*	9*	12*	29
A Court	13	9	3	25
Museum of the City of New York	10	9*	5	24
Jumel Mansion	6	12*	0	18
Museum of the American Indian	7	7	3	17
Roosevelt House	6	5	5	16
Dyckman House	4	6	2	12
Van Cortlandt House	4	4	0	8
New York Historical Society	2	5	0	7

* Practically all of these were from the same high school. Note: Seventeen volunteered the information that they were not encouraged to make any such visits.

A number of local places of historic and civic interest were listed and the students were asked to indicate those they were given extra credit for visiting, those they were required to visit, and those to which they were conducted by a teacher. The city hall received the most visits. Only about one-sixth of the students had visited it and most of them were from the same school. Approximately one-eighth of the students had been to Fraunces' Tav-

ern and about one-seventh had visited the Statue of Liberty in connection with their school work. Ellis Island, where it is possible to see a federal agency at work, was visited by less than one-tenth of the students questioned, and a still smaller percentage had visited the other places listed. These numbers seem very small considering the cheap and rapid transportation facilities in New York City.

It is only fair to note that at the very time that this material was being collected, Dr. Frank A. Rexford, Director of Education at the Museum of the City of New York, was arranging and publishing itineraries to many places of historic and civic interest in New York City, so that this type of education is now being stimulated, and greatly facilitated, by an outside force.

One other question pertained to the method of presenting the information concerning the government. This question was:

Was there any dramatization of the following in your high school?

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (a) <i>A party caucus</i> | (e) <i>Other governmental bodies</i> |
| (b) <i>A national convention</i> | (f) <i>A presidential election</i> |
| (c) <i>A city council</i> | |
| (d) <i>League of Nations Assembly</i> | |

According to the answers, the League of Nations Assembly had been dramatized in one school. It evidently had made a great impression, for nine-tenths of the students remembered it. Ten others said there had been some dramatization, but their answers were so scattered—usually one from a school—as to make them incredible.

A few general conclusions can be drawn from this section of the survey. It has been noted that there is considerable liberty in the selection of the text books. It is significant that three times as many hours are spent upon the government of New York City as are given to the national government and that only about thirty hours in the entire high school curriculum are formally assigned to the latter. In spite of the fact that the former director of civics maintained that "the city itself is the text and laboratory for the study of Civics in the Schools,"⁹ relatively few of the students who were questioned in this study had seen the different governmental bodies of the city or had visited its historic museums as a part of their formal training. Little use was made of newspapers or of other materials than textbooks, but with such tools as they had the students were given freedom to think as they would, and in most cases to express their thoughts. There was little or no evidence that the tools were selected for the purpose of developing one particular point of view.

TABLE III
PICTURES RECALLED BY THE STUDENTS

Pictures	Number of Mentions
American Pictures	
Historic scenes*	128
Presidents' portraits	126
Statesmen's portraits	29
Martha Washington	25
Government buildings	23
War memorials	21
American colleges	20
American educators	13
American authors	11
Scenic places	5
American reformers	1
American actors	1
Total	403
Foreign Pictures	
Religious pictures	34
Famous paintings	32
Scenic places	27
Roman scenes	20
Authors and orators	20
Greek scenes	17
Warriors	12
Cathedrals	11
Scientists	7
Artists	6
Musicians	3
Others	24
Total	213

* Historic scenes included such pictures as *Washington Crossing the Delaware*, *The Landing of the Pilgrims*, *The Purchase of Manhattan*.

NATIONALISTIC INFLUENCES OUTSIDE OF THE HISTORY AND CIVICS CLASSES

Much has been written of the nationalistic training in other countries. We are told that Germany, Italy and Russia surround their youth with national symbols and patriotic ceremonies. An attempt was made to find out what influences of this type existed in the New York high-school training, outside of the classes in history and civics.

The by-laws of the board of education lay the foundation for such influences; they require that all teachers either be citizens or have made application for citizenship. They also provide that assembly periods be held at least once a week which shall include exercises of a patriotic nature, a salute to the flag, and the singing of the Star Spangled Banner. These requirements were generally carried out in the schools investigated. Assembly periods were sometimes less frequent than the law prescribed but the nature of the exercises followed the spirit of the law.

Two of the very first questions on the questionnaire were aimed at this phase of the students' training. They were:

What picture do you remember that hung on the walls of either the classrooms, the auditorium, or the halls of your high school building?

What songs do you remember singing most often in (a) the assembly, (b) the music class?

These questions were placed at the beginning so that they would be answered before the students were conscious of the nature of the study, and the papers were collected too soon for the answers to be changed. The response may be judged by the following tabulation of the answers.

TABLE IV
SONGS RECALLED BY THE STUDENTS

Songs	In Assembly: Number of Mentions	In Music Class: Number of Mentions
Patriotic Songs		
The Star Spangled Banner	198	10
America	56	12
American Folk Songs*	34	74
America the Beautiful	28	5
Others	22	10
Total	338	111
Non-Patriotic Songs		
School Songs**	181	47
Hymns***	83	34
Opera	44	169
Foreign Folk Songs	24	57
War Songs	1	18
Others	48	71
Total	381	396

* Negro Spirituals and Indian Songs were included in American Folk Songs.

** Many school songs were of a patriotic nature, such as "When De Witt Clinton was Governor of New York."

*** "God of Our Fathers" was one of the hymns most frequently mentioned; many others were semi-patriotic.

Almost two-thirds of the pictures remembered were distinctly American, and seven-eighths of the American pictures were definitely historic or patriotic in character. Nearly half of the mentions of songs that the students recalled singing in assembly periods had nationalistic themes. If we included in this group the hymns and school songs which were semi-patriotic, there would remain only sixteen per cent which had no patriotic influences. The spread is somewhat different in the music class but even there more than one-fifth of the songs remembered were of a patriotic nature. It is true that these statements are a little ambiguous; the "number of

mentions" is not synonymous with the number of songs sung, for the same song was recalled by many students. Table III is open to the same criticism. It is probable, however, that the songs remembered by a large number of students were most frequently sung, and that the pictures most often mentioned were hung in the most prominent places. In any case the recurrence of the same names on many papers indicates that they made a vivid impression on the students' minds. The mentions, therefore, offer a tangible, though a crude way of weighing such influences.

Answers to subsequent questions gave evidence of other nationalistic stimuli. The salute to the flag was generally given at assembly meetings. National holidays were usually celebrated with patriotic speeches or patriotic music. In two schools, arrangements were made so that the students could listen to the President's inaugural address over the radio. Armistice Day was observed by a few minutes of silence in all the schools. Besides pictures, other American symbols adorned the rooms. Two hundred and twelve students remembered that American flags were displayed in the buildings, twenty-six recalled seeing armor used in American wars, and thirteen said other war relics decorated the buildings. Patriotic plays or pageants had been given in all the schools. And finally, in fulfillment of the requirements for graduation from the high schools, all candidates for graduation had to sign a pledge of loyalty to the United States and to the State of New York, unless they were excused by the associate superintendent in charge of the high schools. As near as the associate superintendent could remember only four students had been so excused in the preceding six years. One was the son of a British consul; the others were not explained.

An attempt was made to find out the extent to which nationalistic materials were generally used in the classrooms. It has already been indicated that patriotic music was sung during the music period. Did other departments use similar material? A list of patriotic speeches, poems, etc., was submitted and the students were asked to check once any that they had studied during their high-school course and twice any that they had memorized in full or in part. The following table shows how they responded.

Since these selections scarcely would have been studied in the assembly period, nationalistic material must have been used in the classrooms. Some of them must have been studied in connection with courses other than history and civics. Other departments therefore must be presenting material which tends to produce an emotional reaction in the student and helps to develop a nationally conscious citizenry.

TABLE V
NATIONALISTIC MATERIAL USED IN THE CLASSROOM

Patriotic Selections	Studied by	Memorized in Full or part by
Washington's Farewell Address	153	15
Burke's Conciliation Speech	143	14
Lincoln's Gettysburg Address	130	118
The Man Without a Country	108	4
Preamble to the Declaration of Independence	98	88
Preamble to the Constitution	79	131
Paul Revere's Ride	65	18
Old Ironsides	65	39
Cooper's The Spy	50	0
Franklin's Autobiography	49	1
Scott's Love of Country	49	58
Barbara Frietchie	44	5
Concord Hymn	43	18
Irving's Life of Washington	43	1
A Perfect Tribute	35	5
Sheridan's Ride	34	2
The Blue and The Grey	27	8

One question more objective in character was included. The students were asked how many stanzas they could repeat of a number of patriotic songs. Their answers make one skeptical of the effectiveness of this type of training. Over three-fourths of them thought they knew the words of one or more stanzas of the first three songs on the list, but it seemed rather surprising that less than half of them said they could repeat as many as two stanzas of *The Star Spangled Banner*. Even this cannot be attributed entirely to school training, since these songs are often heard at church, club or theatre.

One question was directed at these outside influences. It was *What patriotic motion-picture shows have you seen in the last year?* A total of three hundred forty-one visits to such plays was reported. The picture *Abraham Lincoln* led the list with ninety-six visits; *All Quiet on the Western Front* came next with fifty-two visits. Eighteen students said that they had been given time out of school to see such pictures. Strictly speaking, the question is relevant to this study in their case only. The popularity of these plays, however, does point to one more nationalistic influence, and it suggests an interest in historic and patriotic things that may have been awakened in the school room.

One other patriotic influence is the Junior Red Cross. There is a branch of this society in each of the schools. Its chief function seems to be to raise money to help handicapped children receive an education. Its nationalistic influence lies in its affiliation with the National Red Cross whose patriotic purposes and traditions are common knowledge. This

TABLE VI
PATRIOTIC SONGS MEMORIZED BY THE STUDENTS

Songs	Number of Stanzas They Could Repeat				Number of Students not Answering
	None	One or More	Two or More	Three or More	
Star Spangled Banner	2	284	131	66	23
America	3	262	166	71	53
America, The Beautiful	9	236	139	62	64
The Battle Hymn of The Republic	24	142	62	29	143
Kipling's Recessional	63	27	16	7	219
Hail Columbia	29	130	26	19	150
John Brown's Body	49	38	18	10	222

organization cannot have a great influence in the schools, for very few of the students questioned were cognizant of its existence.

Lack of space eliminates from the study other nationalistic influences, among them being the very names of the schools, most of which are those of presidents, governors or other statesmen. There are also influences which might prove to be nationalistic if they were analyzed; among these are the student publications, particularly those sponsored by the history departments. An analysis of these sheets, however, would take considerable time, and without such an analysis no conclusions can be drawn.

In summary it can be said that New York City does not trust its youth to the influence of foreign teachers, that it surrounds them with nationalistic symbols and pictures in the school buildings, that nationalistic songs are sung and patriotic rites are performed in the assembly meetings, that patriotic literature is frequently used in the classroom, and patriotic plays are presented by various school organizations, and finally that the students are required to sign a pledge of allegiance before graduation.

tion. Thus from matriculation until graduation the student is under the influence of stimuli that are intended to arouse a loyalty to his country.

(To be Continued)

¹ I wish to acknowledge the assistance given to me by Miss Minnie Predmesky and by my mother in tabulating and checking this material.

² The Requirements for Graduation are published in a leaflet issued by the Superintendent of Schools. One unit is five periods per week for one year.

³ Rexford, Frank A., ed., *Our City—New York*. New York: Allyn & Bacon, 1924-1930. Dr. Rexford was formerly director of civics in the New York schools. The first edition of this book was written by high-school students. It was later revised to conform with the new laws. Civics teachers assisted in the revision.

⁴ Muzzy, David S., *History of the American People*. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1927.

⁵ Magruder, Frank Abbot, *American Government*. New York: Allyn & Bacon, 1927-1932.

⁶ Woodburn, James Albert and Moran, T. F., *Citizen and the Republic*. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1921-1928.

⁷ Guitteau, William Backus, *Government and Politics in the United States*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1911-1918.

⁸ Mathews, J. M., *Essentials of American Government*. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1927.

⁹ This is quoted from Dr. Rexford in a booklet by Harold G. Campbell, *Beyond the Classroom*. New York: Herald-Nathan Press, 1930, p. 99.

The June issue of the *Mid Pacific Magazine* contains two articles of more than usual interest—"The Philippine Republic" by Alexander Hume Ford, and "The Education of Girls in Fiji" by Mrs. A. M. Griffin. The latter considers particularly the effect of the secondary schools on the social life of the natives.

G. E. R. Gedye considers the tragedy of Dollfuss to be that this man with his exceptional gifts of courage, energy, political skill and personal charm, unhampered by a reactionary part should have destroyed liberty in Austria in the name of Austrian independence, and should have used for this purpose only the weapons and ideas he borrowed from Italy and Germany. (*Contemporary Review*, September.)

"Hindenburg" by Dr. Rudolf Olden in the September *Contemporary Review* is an appreciation of the late President, whose place in modern history will not be determined until the present unrest has given way to something more permanent and men and forces have assumed some permanency.

"American Foreign Policy" by Frank Darvall, *Contemporary Review* for September. So far as Latin America is concerned, Roosevelt's policy has aroused distrust; Japan, on the other hand, is more inclined to friendliness and no longer considers America as the leader in the Anti-Japanese movement. The European situation is too involved in debt negotiations to permit evaluation of any diplomatic accomplishments.

A Contract Assignment in Economics and How It Is Used in the Recitation Period

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ULTIMATE OBJECTIVES

In a recent article appearing in the *Historical Outlook*, O. S. Flick makes it very clear that the three goals of teaching sociology and economics are an understanding of, a respect for and a personal responsibility toward all social relations with which we come in contact.¹

The following ultimate objectives of this course in economics have been chosen to develop such attitudes as Mr. Flick has suggested.

1. Mastery of the elementary principles of the subject.
2. Development of the social rather than the individual viewpoint relative to our economic institutions.
3. The recognition that every individual has economic problems to meet. Also, to arouse a desire to solve such problems to the advantage of both the individual and the community.
4. To cultivate a permanent interest in the study of economic problems as they appear in current literature.
5. To learn how to work in small groups by organizing class committees, doing simple research work and reporting results to the class.

In the preparation of the course of which this unit is a part, four definite factors were carefully considered.

1. The environment and abilities of the pupils.
2. The vocational plans of pupils after completing their high school work.
3. The content of the course.
4. The form of the teaching unit and the method by which it should be taught.

THE ENVIRONMENT AND ABILITIES OF THE PUPILS

This class was made up of twenty juniors and seniors. Their personnel sheets showed that about one-third of their number came from farm homes. The remaining two-thirds came from homes where one or both parents did some kind of mechanical work. Their ability quotients ranged from 70 to 115.

VOCATIONAL PLANS OF THE PUPILS AFTER GRADUATION

The vocational plans varied widely. They included studying law, music, agriculture, textiles, business college, normal school work, hospital training, remaining on the home farm, and uncertainty about the future.

This data with some other facts about individuals of the group gave the instructor a reasonable basis upon which to construct his course.

CONTENT OF THE COURSE

In selecting material for such a course there are at least three reasonable possibilities from which to choose insofar as actual practice is concerned.

1. We may choose content material that applies only to the elementary principles of the subject and treat such material historically and from the viewpoint of the practical application of economics by industry and business.

2. If we decide to treat the subject from the viewpoint of individual needs it will be necessary to collect an entirely different kind of material from that just mentioned. In this event the subject matter will be of a nature that will teach the individual: (a) How to gain economic security. (b) The importance of money. (c) How to avoid waste and speculation.²

3. A third type of material includes both that which relates to an understanding of the fundamental principles of the subject and that which emphasizes the welfare of the individual. The material should be so organized that the relation between industry and society and the individual and society will be constantly emphasized throughout the course.

As the ultimate objectives indicate, this course is based upon the third type of content material. It has been arranged to show the vital relations that exist between the individual, industry and society as a whole.

To state it in another way, by again drawing upon Mr. Flick's article: the material is chosen with a view to making the individual socially minded

and to impress upon him that his good is dependent upon the common good.

About one-third of the time is devoted to the individual and his relation to industry and society.

THE FORM OF THE TEACHING UNIT AND THE METHOD OF TEACHING

The kind of unit used and method of teaching the unit is closely related to the type of pupil taking the course and the conditions under which the teacher is working. It will be remembered that the ability rating of the pupils ranged from 70 to 115 and that there was also a wide divergence of vocational interest. The class enrollment was twenty, with ages varying from a little under sixteen to twenty years of age. The instructor taught seven out of the eight periods. His subjects included mathematics, physical sciences, and the social studies. Membership of his classes ranged from five to twenty with an average of twelve.

There was a small amount of reading material and other facilities on hand. Each pupil had a basic textbook and there were a few copies available of three other texts. The instructor gathered some literature from bankers' associations, railroads, public utilities, and other kinds of business organizations. Daily papers and current magazines completed the list.

The differences in the abilities of individuals indicated that considerable attention should be given to grading the subject matter to meet the capacities of the individual. The Contract Plan as developed by Principal Harry Lloyd Miller of the University of Wisconsin High School was adopted.³

Four contracts were provided for in each unit: the *D*, *C*, *B* and *A*.

The instructor aimed to make the *D* contract within the group of the weakest member of the group, provided he would work. The *A* contract is intended as a challenge for the most intelligent students of the class. Such an arrangement provides for individual differences in ability though it does not provide for the variations in individual interests. To the instructor's mind the latter is fully as important as the former.

Material has been gathered to meet such needs in so far as time and choice of subject matter allows. Several choices are given in the *C*, *B*, and *A* contracts to meet individual variations of interest. It is desirable to have such choices in the *D* contracts but up to the present time it has not been possible to organize the work on that basis.

The Morrison Plan was adopted as the method of teaching the unit. Throughout the course we used four of the five steps of the "teaching cycle." At the beginning of the year we attempted the "exploration step." The result was about the same

as that reported by Miss Welch.⁴ It was felt that no member of the class had a sufficient understanding of the subject to be excused; but such a step did create interest. As we went on with the year's work, however, I found that a discussion of a set of prepared introductory questions aroused an equal amount of interest in the unit and met local conditions better than the "exploration step."

The remaining four steps of the "cycle"—presentation, assimilation, organization, and recitation have been followed throughout the course.

Tests, both objective and the essay type, are given at intervals during the assimilation period. A final objective test over the *D* contract is given when that contract is completed. Re-study is required of those who do not attain a rank of 90. Less attention has been given to the "mastery" of contracts *C*, *B*, and *A* than to *D* although it has not been lost sight of in the three upper contracts.

Each unit on consumption is illustrative of the type used throughout the course and is made up of:

1. Foreword. 2. Immediate objectives. 3. Pupil activities. 4. Four contracts.⁵

TYPE OF THE UNIT Consumption—Unit III

Foreword:

We discussed production in the preceding unit.

Since most of us are producers during our working years, we found it was important for us to know something about the principles of production.

All of us are consumers as long as we live. Not only do we consume food, clothing, and shelter but education, recreation, travel, life insurance, et cetera.

We shall study this unit from two viewpoints:

1. How can the individual best provide for his own wants?

2. How can the consumer satisfy his own wants and at the same time be an asset to his community?

It is estimated by people who have studied the subject carefully that the American people waste 10% of the edible food purchased.

If we knew how to buy clothes intelligently we could save from 25% to 40% on this item. By keeping our stoves and furnaces free from soot, regulating dampers properly, covering steam and hot-water pipes with asbestos and applying other simple preventives, we could save from 9% to 40% of our fuel.

The prevention of such losses would increase our capacity to buy more education, recreation, travel, insurance, and investments.

Objectives

To determine:

1. The meaning and importance of consumption.

2. The effect of productive and unproductive consumption upon both the individual and the community.
3. How the individual can use his money to the best advantage in buying consumption goods.
4. The advantages of balanced consumption to the consumer.
5. Under what conditions is it justifiable for a consumer to raise his standard of living?
6. How to make an outline of our supplementary reading.
7. How current topics on the subject agree with the textbook study.

Class Activities

1. Introductory questions for class discussion.
 - a) Do you approve of competitive consumption? Give your reasons.
 - b) What are the arguments for and against sumptuary laws?
 - c) Explain and give illustrations of a rational standard of living.
 - d) Show how careless spending and wise investing react upon individuals and communities.
 - e) Do you apply the principle of balanced consumption to your own expenditures?
 - f) Would an individual, who had established a rational standard of living need some articles from all four classes of consumers' goods? Show why or why not.
 - g) Would you like to live in a community where people have no desire to own things which they do not now possess?
 - h) Discuss following terms and illustrate: wealth, productive consumption, depreciation.
 - i) Was Malthus correct in his conclusion about the relation between growth of population and food supply? Show errors if there were any.
 - j) Has Ricardo's theory, relative to wages and standard of living, held true?

References: Carver & Carmichael, *Elementary Economics* (Ginn & Co., 1929), 62, 100-103, 441-446, 450-456, 463-467, 473-490.

Hughes, *Fundamentals of Economics* (Allyn & Bacon, 1929), 41-45, 50-56, 62.

Finney, *General Social Science* (Macmillan, 1926), 328-334.

2. A comparison of consumers' and producers' goods. Rule a few pages of your notebook into two columns. Enter the names of ten consumers' goods in one column. In the other column put the uses which make them consumers' goods. Follow same procedure with producers' goods.

References: Carver & Carmichael: 439-440.

Hughes: 62-66. Thompson: *High School Economics* (Sanborn & Co., 1932), 29-31.

3. Make bar graphs that will compare the per cent of income that should be spent and is really being spent for the following food commodities: dairy products, meat, fish, eggs, vegetables, fruit, tea and coffee, sugar and molasses.

Under your graphs indicate definite changes that should be made.

References: Study figures given by the N. Y. Board of Estimate and those given by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics of the real conditions existing among 2567 workingmen's families. Harap: *The Education of the Consumer* (Macmillan), 22-24.

4. Study the following references.

Make an original picture that will represent any two of the following types of consumption: productive, unproductive, waste, wise, harmful. Or, make a collection of pictures from current literature that will represent the same thing. Paste in your notebook and make any necessary explanation.

References: Carver & Carmichael: 100-440.

Hughes: p. 66. Marshall & Lyon: *Our Economic Organization* (Macmillan, 1921), 5.

Janzen & Stephenson: *Everyday Economics* (Silver, Burdett & Co., 1931), 32-35. Thompson: 87-93.

5. Give a floor talk on the probable economic standing of two individuals: one of whom spends his entire income for consumers' goods while the other spends part for consumer's goods and the remainder for producer's goods.

Or, compare two communities one of which spends wisely and the other unwisely.

References: Carver & Carmichael: 138-139, 442-444, 452-458.

Thompson: 91-95. Janzen & Stephenson: 35.

6. Make a family budget that is based upon an income of \$1200.00 a year. Include following items: food, clothing, rent, heat and light, health, recreation, education, savings.

References: Carver & Carmichael: 462-470.

Marshall & Lyon: 338. Hughes: 377-379.

Harap: 24, 80, 230, 234-238, 145.

7. Read any two chapters from "Your Money's Worth" by Chase.

Make a *précis* for your notebook.

If you think you found facts that would be of interest to the class, arrange with the instructor for a five or ten minute floor talk.

8. Make bar graphs that compare the percentages of income spent for food, clothing, shelter, heat and light, and miscellaneous by a Saxony family and an American family. The income of the former is \$600.00 a year and of the latter \$1000.00.

Answer following questions:

- a) Is the Saxony standard of living too low?
- b) Is the American standard too high?
- c) Does the comparison give valuable suggestions?

References: Carver & Carmichael: 468-469.

9. Make a study to determine what brand of consumers' goods offers the best return for the money spent.

Procedure:

- a) Read "Huge Buying Power Awaiting Release." *Digest*, October 15, 1932. p. 50.
- b) Class choose five chairmen to form that number of committees.
- c) Each chairman select one article from the group of articles listed in the above *Digest* reference. e.g., electric refrigerator, radio, washing machine, new house.
- d) Remainder of class join any of the above committees. No committee to consist of over four members.
- e) Each committee should narrow the number of brands to three as early in the study as possible. Study these three as intensively as your resources allow.
- f) Appoint a secretary for each committee.
- g) When the study is completed each committee will report to the class.
10. The secretary's report will be written and will describe the procedure that the members of the committee have followed. The chairmen's reports will be in the form of a floor talk. They will emphasize details that are not brought out in secretaries' reports.
- a). The reports should make the following facts very clear.

- 1) The names of three of the best brands.
- 2) Strong and weak points of each.
- 3) The particular brands that the committee recommends purchasing, with reasons for their recommendations.

References: 1) The above *Digest* reference.

- 2) Talk with people who are using the articles that you are investigating.
- 3) Get information from dealers.
- 4) Study advertisements.
- 5) Whenever possible, investigate the articles yourself and record your results.

11. Write a theme of about 250 words in class that will

show the relation between the prosperity of a community and its consumption of goods.

12. Arrange a class debate.

Procedure:

- Each member of the class state a question that is based upon the subject of this unit.
- Choose a committee to decide upon the question.
- Each member of the class make an outline of both sides of the question. Have at least three main headings and two sub-headings for each main topic.
- Choose a leader to open each side of the question.
- Members of the class join the side that they believe in.
- Choose a committee to arrange details of the debate.

"C" Contract

Read Harap, *The Education of the Consumer*, 62-68. Summarize in a one page essay. Make a five minute report to the class.

or, Select ten farm products. Take price quotations daily. Keep a graph of their combined prices or of each one separately. Be ready to report to the class any time.

or, Rule a few pages of your notebook into two columns. In one column list ten items which you think are necessary for a rational standard of living. In the opposite column state why you think each item is desirable.

References: Hughes: 370-376.

Carver & Carmichael: 450-453, 492-498.

Jansen & Stephenson: 427-428.

"B" Contract

Consult with the instructor about reading the biography of any person who has been an outstanding constructive factor in our economic evolution.

You will find the following interesting: Sir Richard Arkwright, Samuel Slater, Alexander Hamilton, James G. Hill, Andrew Carnegie, "Golden Rule" Nash, John Wanamaker, Thomas Edison, Cyrus McCormick.

Hand in a *précis* of your reading that will include: name of person, title of book, author, number of pages read, your estimate of the man's value to our economic life.

or, Study Harap, 77-82. Make following graphs:

- Percentages of houses in U. S. owned by occupants.
- Amounts paid per year for housing in Attleboro, Cleveland, Los Angeles, Richmond.
- Compare percentages of homes that have running water in the kitchens in Cincinnati, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Richmond.

Make a list of housing standards as set up by Massachusetts Homestead Committee.

"A" Contract

Select ten bonds from the industrial, railroad, and utility groups. Take the averages of these prices once a week. Keep a graph of price changes. Be ready to report to the class at any time.

or, Make a cartoon that represents one person who buys consumers' goods understandingly and one who buys without discrimination.

or, arrange headings from current literature with the instructor. Make a *précis* of each article read as follows: name of magazine, title of article, date, author, a summary of the article in two or three sentences, your reaction to the article. Make a brief report to the class.

or, Read Harap, 106-110. Give a floor talk on the result of your reading.

Teacher-Pupil Activities

The "Class Activities" which were described in the unit on consumption were activities which individual members of the class completed to get an understanding of the unit.

The "Teacher-Pupil Activities" indicate how teacher and pupils together worked out the class activities.

Teacher	Activities	Pupils
	(1)	
A general discussion of the unit as it appears on the worksheet when the sheet is distributed to the class.	Follow the discussion with the sheet before them.	
	(2)	
Presentation of the unit in a ten or twelve minute talk.	Listen without taking notes. Reproduce the main points of the presentation in a short written statement by the end of the recitation period.	
	(3)	
Repetition of the presentation for the benefit of pupils who did not write a satisfactory summary.	Deficient pupils listen to the re-presentation and write a second summary.	
	(4)	
Give assistance to pupils who are preparing the introductory questions.	Reading of references preparatory to a discussion of introductory questions.	
	(5)	
Lead the discussion of introductory questions.	A general discussion of the introductory questions. All members of the class are supposed to take part.	
	(6)	
Assist pupils who are having difficulty with the questions.	Pupils who do not take part in the discussion and also do not show a reasonable understanding of the work re-study the references and re-discuss the questions.	
	(7)	
Directs the silent reading assignment.	Pupils who are likely to have difficulty with parts of the work are given assignments for silent reading.	
	(8)	
Administers the test over the introductory questions.	Take an objective test over the introductory questions.	
	(9)	
Discusses the test with pupils who failed to score 90% and show individuals what parts of the work need re-study.	Re-study of the test. Take the re-test as soon as the work has been prepared.	
	(10)	
A discussion of every "class activity" preferably before the class begins to work on them.	Determine exactly what is to be done in each activity.	
	(11)	
Corrects the notebooks immediately if possible and returns books with directions for making corrections.	Passes in activities that are recorded in notebooks.	
	(12)	
Check and return corrected notebooks.	Return corrected notebooks to the instructor.	
	(13)	
Follow the floor talks, ask questions of the speaker or other members of the class at the close of the talk; summarize the talk if necessary.	Give floor talks of from 5 to 10 minutes in length.	
	(14)	
Any supervision that is necessary.	Write a one or two-page essay in class.	
	(15)	
Reads two or three of the best essays that were written the day before. Comments on the strong points. Posts some of the best ones on the bulletin board. Returns those that are below grade with definite suggestions for re-writing.	Listen to the reading. Ask questions about interesting points. Pupils who have failed begin a re-study preparatory to re-writing in class.	

Teacher	Activities	Pupils
Listens.	(16) Debating.	
Suggests the topics and directs the discussion.	(17) Discuss important review topics.	
Gives short readings to the class on important topics that are not treated fully in their texts.	(18) Listen to the reading and make summaries of the reading.	
"Selling" current topics to individuals a few days before such topics are to be given in class.	(19) Listen to the instructor's comment on each current topic, ask questions about it, choose the one in which they are most interested.	
Listens to the presentation of the topic. Asks questions to bring out the important points. Summarizes if necessary.	(20) Present current topics to the class. All members of the class write a brief summary after the discussion.	
Give general directions for the work. Assist in any way that is required.	(21) Form and organize committees; arrange meetings, gather data and make reports to the class.	
Makes suggestions of material that is expected to be in the written organization. Reads a few of the best papers. Returns papers that show need of re-study.	(22) Organize the unit after the assimilation period is completed.	
Gives directions about the type of recitation, listens and gives instructions about re-study to those who have failed.	(23) Recite on the subject matter of the unit.	

These teacher-pupil activities encourage a loose class organization.

There are three different groupings that occur automatically as occasions require:

I. The entire class working as a unit.

This occurs under the following conditions:

- When a new worksheet is discussed.
- While the class is mastering the introductory questions at the beginning of a unit's study.
- Taking a test after completing the study of the introductory questions.
- During a debate.
- Reports made by committees.
- Any discussion of current topics.
- When review topics are under discussion.
- Reading to the class by the instructor.
- During the discussion of how the subject matter should be organized and the conduct of the recitation.

II. The formation of one or more small groups.

Such an organization occurs when one or several groups of pupils have particular problems to solve.

The occasions for such groupings take place when:

- Several pupils need the assistance of the instructor for directed study.
- Committees organize and meet for work.
- Failures in tests make it necessary to re-study subject matter.
- Pupils, who are not working as rapidly as a majority of the class, need to have class activities explained.

III. The individual working by himself.

It is an advantage to have as much of this individual work as possible done in class. It gives the instructor opportunity to make suggestions when necessary. It also frequently saves

the pupil much wasted time. Writing of one or two-page themes, making graphs and cartoons, reading, collecting pictures and arranging notebooks are some of the individual activities that are carried on during the recitation hour.

THE ADVANTAGES OF SUCH A CONTRACT ASSIGNMENT

The advantages of this plan are threefold. It has a favorable effect upon: 1. The school as a unit. 2. The teacher. 3. The individual pupil.

It affects the school constructively for at least two reasons:

1. It is an incentive to build up a good working equipment for the various departments.

Just as soon as a teacher begins to consider varied abilities and interests he finds that it is necessary to have a reasonably broad choice of material with which to work. Moreover, the material from which choices are to be made should be up to date if it is to be most serviceable.

This does not mean that a large amount of money needs to be spent at any one time.

If the teacher will keep informed upon what other instructors are using and also upon new publications and other material which pertain to his field, he can gradually build up a serviceable equipment by a small outlay of money per year.

Such an equipment should contain books, maps, pictures, daily papers, weekly and monthly periodicals, government reports both state and national, reports of special commissions and literature that are distributed by industrial, banking, and transportation concerns.

2. It creates a spirit of serious work.

The definiteness of the assignment creates an interest for the work in a large majority of the pupils. When, in addition to this, pupils find in each unit of work something that they like and want to do their interest is increased. The result is a growing attitude for serious work on the part of the pupil body. This spirit carries over from one year to another and so helps to create an "atmosphere" for serious work.

THE TEACHER IS FAVORABLY AFFECTED IN SEVERAL WAYS

1. It gives him a mastery of the material he is using. The preparation of questions and other class activities based upon a broad reading; making tests of both the objective and essay types give the teacher a comprehensive and an intensive working knowledge of the subject.

2. Such a method of teaching keeps him alert for fresh material, new activities, and the necessity for new adaptations of the old activities to the needs of individuals.

3. He becomes a director of activities during the recitation hour rather than a "hearer of les-

sons." Pupils are preparing new work under the instructor's direction rather than wasting time in rehearsing facts which were formerly learned.

4. Best of all it makes the teacher a creative worker. We do not carry on creative work without enthusiasm and a deep interest in the thing we are doing. In this type of work the teacher does creative work not only in constructing a contract, but in adapting the material to individual needs as occasions require. The fact that an instructor is growing as a result of creative work arouses an enthusiasm that permeates the members of the class.

THE PUPIL IS BENEFITED FOR A VARIETY OF REASONS

While such a contract assignment as we are discussing is very beneficial to the school as a unit and also to the teacher, its greatest value is for the individual pupil. In my own classes I find that the following values are outstanding:

1. The coöperation of the individual is enlisted from the time the assignment is made until the work is completed. The reason is clear, the assignment is definite. This in itself arouses interest and secures coöperation.

Moreover, the individual finds activities which appeal both to his ability and special interests. The discussion of the assignment by the teacher before the class begins work clears up any question of procedure in the various activities. Therefore, if the assignment has been made with a consideration for the individual pupil's ability and interest and if the teacher has done a reasonably good piece of work in "selling" the assignment to the class the coöperation of the group is assured.

2. Pupils must use initiative and originality to a greater or less degree in work of this type. The strongest pupils employ both abilities whenever opportunity offers. The weakest members of the group are indifferent to the value of applying these abilities unless encouraged by the teacher. The majority of the class use both initiative and originality far more than is possible in an ordinary assignment.

3. The correlation between subject matter found in texts and current literature. Provisions are made for such a study in every unit. It is usually possible to have a daily report from a newspaper or magazine followed by a discussion. These discussions intensify the interest of the class, necessitate a broader viewpoint than is possible to acquire from the study of texts only and cultivate the habit of careful newspaper and magazine reading.

4. The value of working in small groups. Provision is made for some group work in the *D* contracts of all assignments. We are sure that every individual will need to be able to work with other people throughout life. He needs to be able to lead

when his turn comes and he must also learn how to follow. The contract assignment offers a splendid opportunity for such a training.

Pupils enjoy this type of activity; they do the work well, and obviously gain practical experience from committee activities.

5. The pupil has a variety of learning activities.

These activities are closely correlated and are designed to give pupils an understanding and an appreciation of the unit under consideration.

In order to successfully complete these activities, pupils read, talk, listen, draw, measure, make maps and diagrams, study pictures and maps, work alone and in group, make summaries and do other forms of written work.

If these exercises have been done carefully and thoughtfully, the pupil has a much clearer understanding of the subject he is studying than would be possible if he were studying the same subject with only the opportunity for a limited number of activities in the assignment.

6. Provision is made for a variety of interests, which is a strong feature in this type of assignment.

The boy who plans to take a two-year agriculture course naturally will choose different subject matter than the girl who is looking ahead to hospital work. When both find an activity in the unit that definitely applies to their needs, their interest in the subject is proportionately increased and consequently their school work becomes more effective.

7. The objective for each piece of work is stated very definitely and is limited to a comparatively narrow range.

The advantage for such a statement of the objective is obvious. We all realize the amount of time that is wasted in classroom discussion unless both teacher and pupils confine themselves within specified limits. If we do not definitely provide for such limitations they are usually entirely disregarded and we have the consequent waste during the pupil's preparation period and the recitation hour as well.

8. The recitation hour is more productive than it is with the formal recitation.

How to check the waste of time during the recitation period of the ordinary type has been a problem to many teachers. The range of ability and interest is so great, even in small classes, that only a fraction of the class is working to capacity at any one time. The application of the mastery unit very largely eliminates this waste.

The variety of activities that takes place during a recitation period, the opportunity of clearing up questions that have arisen in the pupil's mind and the anticipation of difficulties by the teacher all tend to make the recitation hour an interesting and productive period.

If any teacher is interested in increasing both quantity and quality of classroom work and has not attempted some adaptation of the mastery unit it is well worth trying. It may not be possible to start the work in all classes at the same time. It very likely would be better to adopt it in one class at a time especially if teaching several subjects.

Limited facilities should not deter one from adopting such a method. Once the course is so organized we become alert for subject matter to make it worthwhile. In a comparatively short time it is possible to make the facilities adequate for our

needs at a comparatively small cost.

¹ *Historical Outlook*, May, 1933, 256.

² "Economic Security of the Individual. A Responsibility of Education." Orrin C. Lester. *National Association of Mutual Savings Banks*, 1932, 7.

³ A brief and very clear statement of this plan is made in the *Historical Outlook* of November, 1932, 341.

⁴ "The Unit Mastery Technique as Applied to Teaching History," Anna Virginia Welch, *Historical Outlook* (January, 1933), 20.

⁵ For the form of the unit, I am very much indebted to Dr. Howard E. Wilson's instruction in the Harvard University summer session. His *Master List of Study-Activities for Pupils in Social Science* has been of particular assistance in suggesting varied activities not only in this course but the others which I am now teaching.

Current Events in World Affairs

GEORGE H. E. SMITH

The Soviet Union in Evolution

Asia for the Asiatics

Naval Armaments

The Recovery Program

THE FAR EAST

The Soviet Union in Evolution

Russia Enters the League. The most outstanding event of the summer—perhaps in many years—is Soviet Russia's admission into the League of Nations on September 18, and her immediate election to a permanent seat on the Council. The move did not come as a surprise. For some time there had been signs in Europe, in the Far East, and in Russia too, that it was only a question of time and the right moment, chiefly the latter. This is another way of saying that while all the ceremonies took place at the seat of the League, the real significance of Russian membership lies elsewhere.

M. Litvinoff implied as much in his speech of acceptance in Russia's behalf. His address was genial, but pointed. He began by observing that the appearance of a new form of State had always met hostility from old States; and that there were still statesmen who dreamed of collective anti-Soviet measures. No one expected him to name these statesmen on such an occasion, but it is common knowledge that ever since the rise of Hitler in Germany and the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, Russia has been outspoken in fear of war on her western and eastern frontiers. Statesmen from other countries less easily identified might be included. Litvinoff frankly told all of them that it was sheer folly to dwell upon such dreams—Russia was well able to look out for herself, and their own chances for united action against the Soviets were none too good.

Passing to the broader questions of war and peace, Litvinoff declared that ten or fifteen years ago war seemed remote, but now "war must appear to all as the threatening danger of tomorrow. Everybody knows now," he continued, "that the exponents of the idea of war, open promulgators of a refashioning of the map of

Europe and Asia by the sword, are not to be intimidated by paper obstacles." Here again the reference is fairly clear to Germany, who is rearming and otherwise disregarding treaty arrangements, and to Japan whose acts in China and Manchuria are in defiance of the League Covenant, the Kellogg Pact and the Washington Treaty. "Peace and security cannot be organized on the shifting sands of verbal promises and declarations," he said. "Nations are not to be calmed into feeling security by assurances of peaceful intentions . . . especially in those places where there are grounds for expecting aggression or where, only the day before, there have been talk and publication about wars of conquest in all directions." The failure of the Disarmament Conference "compels us to seek more effective means."

While thus openly voicing Russia's desire for peace and security and the need of more effective measures against war, M. Litvinoff did not say much about the changes in Russia itself that have helped to prepare the Socialist State for League membership. This is a matter of much importance. Many nations have been looking upon Russia as the black sheep of the family of nations, and have refused on that account to have anything to do with the Soviets. On the other hand, it was not so long ago that Russian spokesmen denounced the League as "an alliance of world bandits against the proletariat." It is evident that substantial changes must have occurred before such members of the family of nations could become reconciled. What are these changes? They must also be of interest and importance to the rest of the world.

Changes within the Soviet Union. The abolition of the OGPU by a series of decrees issued on July 10 is the latest of a number of internal changes which mark a definite turn in the evolution of the Soviet State. The OGPU replaced the Cheka in 1922 as a secret police or-

ganization to protect the State against "counter-revolution" and other political activities hostile to the Government. In later years, especially after 1930, its powers were broadened to include extensive economic activities. Reliable reports placed its membership at more than 150,000 men, operating all over Russia and even abroad through a "foreign service." The Ogpu was a powerful organization. It had the power to try by summary procedure the individuals it arrested and to mete out to them any form of punishment including death. There was no appeal from its decrees. In exercising these powers, the Ogpu established "labor camps" where hundreds of thousands of men were compelled to work on the roads and canals, in the mines, forests and lumber mills, and on other projects about the country. The greatest body of men herded in its labor camps came from the 5,000,000 *kulaks* who resisted Stalin's drive to collectivize agriculture during 1930-1933. Because of its large and almost independent organization, and its summary police powers and tribunals, the Ogpu has been described as a "State within a State."

And now it is no more. The decrees have abolished it and have transferred its functions to a new body—the Commissariat for Internal Affairs, which is more directly a subordinate part of the regular civil power of the Soviet State. The power to act summarily is greatly limited; and with some exceptions, accused persons will have to be brought before the regular courts of justice for trial. The right of appeal from all courts and tribunals to a Court of Appeal now affords further protection from arbitrary action to the Russian citizen.

The case of the Ogpu has been given in detail because it was one of the keys to Soviet internal conditions. It served as a barometer on the state of Russian public opinion and on the stability of the Government. It reflected the course of the sweeping drive to collectivize agriculture. Through its activities against sabotage, it aided observers to understand industrial progress under the Five Year Plan. It even helped to explain many things that were obscure in the Soviet foreign service and policy. Its passing at this time draws to a head a phase of Soviet development that began about 1925 when the program for reconstruction in Russia triumphed over the broader Communist doctrine of world revolution; and later led to the expulsion of Leon Trotsky. It is conceivable that the new body may perpetuate much of the power and terror of the Ogpu under a new name. And yet other events support the belief that the change is more than in name only.

The Ogpu is merely the latest of many structural changes in the Soviet Government. On June 20, 1934, the Revolutionary Military Council was replaced by a new advisory Council of War. This, together with the creation of a Department of Defense to take over the functions of the Commissariat of War, makes the military establishment more directly a part of the civil government structure, just as the police functions of the Ogpu have been closer-knitted and subordinated to the civil authority. The general decree of March 16, 1934, was of much broader scope and affected wide areas of economic and political life. By the March decree, and the subsequent orders of the Central Executive Com-

mittee carrying it into effect in detail in the different branches of the government, the government agencies will be reorganized in many particulars, bureaucratic weaknesses will be wiped out, the principle of individual management and responsibility will replace the committee system, the operation of "Socialist competition" will be enlarged, and new social welfare duties will be undertaken by the trade unions.

Aside from the structural aspect of these changes, the decrees and practices in economic and political life in Russia today display a new attitude toward many of the ideas and practices once condemned in the intense hatred of capitalism. The change of viewpoint came about largely as the result of experiences derived from the operation of the Five Year Plan—experiences with red tape and poor management, uneven progress and lack of coordination, absence of centers of authority and responsibility, floating labor, inefficient workmanship, ineffectiveness of work incentives, and the production of goods of bad quality. These defects were felt keenly enough in the First Five Year Plan which emphasized the heavy industries, but they have been even more apparent in the year and a half under the Second Five Year Plan because this places great stress on the production of consumers' goods where quantity and quality production demands far greater smoothness of the industrial machine. It is not surprising therefore to find the new attitude gaining strength. It is manifested in the higher pay and other rewards given to the skilled and more industrious workers, the more proficient students, and members of the Red Army. It can be seen in the enlarged scope marked out for "Socialist competition" in which factories vie with factories, and labor groups compete with other labor groups, in an effort to increase output, reduce costs, and improve the quality of the product. The new attitude may be said to have spread over Russia as a whole expressing itself in a sense of patriotism in which the Russian regards the "Socialist fatherland" in much the same feeling of pride and attachment so common in the nationalism prevalent in other countries. All of these internal changes and attitudes are far removed from the levelling tendencies in internal life (symbolized, for example, by free street car and railroad rides) and cries of world revolution which dominated Russia in the first flush of the revolution. The one thing retained however—and it is a principle of the greatest importance to the Soviet Union—is the absolute prohibition of any state of affairs that will permit one man to employ others for his own private profit.

Changes in Soviet Foreign Policy. The changes in Russia's foreign relations took a turn toward adjustment to the outer world very soon after the period of violent revolution had come to an end. Lenin saw the necessity of concessions to capitalism and collaboration with capitalist nations if Russia was to succeed in its program of economic reconstruction. The year 1924 witnessed the first real beginning of friendly relations between the Soviets and many nations of the west. From that time forward the idea of "world revolution" began to recede; and the belief that Russia could build a strong, self-sufficient Socialist State without world

revolution gained strength. The failure of proletarian uprisings in other countries did much to turn the Soviets away from world revolution and toward internal development. The beginning of the Five Year Plan in 1928 completed this shift in emphasis. The usual annual Congress of the Third (Communist) International, the instrument through which world revolution was fostered, has not been held since 1928. Making peace and security one of the corner stones of its foreign policy, the Soviet Union built up a network of non-aggression treaties with fourteen nations, including all of its territorial neighbors, except China, and all of the great powers except Great Britain and Japan. With the rising threat of Germany under Hitler, the Soviets moved toward a new understanding with France, reversing her former stand on the question of arms and security by supporting the French thesis of sanctions and regional agreements for mutual assistance. The Five Year Plan made the need for economic coöperation with other nations very urgent and a long series of trade and financial understandings were entered into with many nations. The Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 strongly influenced Russia's turn to the western nations, to the United States with which relations were opened in November, 1933, after sixteen years of official non-intercourse, and finally to the League of Nations at the annual meeting of the Assembly just ended. So that from violent denunciation of capitalist nations, and after holding the League to be nothing more than a nest of bandits, the Soviets now find no difficulty in moving toward closer relations with the same nations both in and out of the League.

This evolution in Russia's internal structure, in her economic and political life, and in her relations with other nations, cannot be explained by any single fact or set of circumstances. Dramatic events like the rise of Hitler and the Japanese invasion of Manchuria may serve as convenient symbols—signposts—to mark some changes. Conditioning circumstances like the experiences of the Five Year Plan, the need of trade and credits from abroad, and the desire for peace and security, may have demanded many adjustments the cumulative effect of which was to produce changes in growth and progress. But no one or combination of them can be selected out of the flow of events in time and space and be fixed upon as the sole reason why things are now different than they used to be. It is perhaps more correct to say that both inside of Russia and in the outer world the wills and efforts of millions of individuals have been at work, thousands of events, great and small, have played a part, and dozens of policies have been operative and dozens more discarded, as the post-war years moved through reconstruction, expanding trade and some prosperity, depression, and now labored efforts to overcome economic stagnation. In these years and in this way, a nation built on new principles moved closer to those upholding the old, while they in turn moved closer to one they once looked upon as an outcast; and capitalism and socialism (insofar as we may employ such terms) have drawn closer together in fact by alterations in those things which formerly distinguished and separated them.

ASIA FOR THE ASIATICS

In contrast to the summer in Europe which provided plenty of excitement with the "cleansing" of the Nazi party in Germany, the Austrian crisis, the opening of the campaign for permanent possession of the Saar Territory, and the entry of Soviet Russia into the League, the period from June to October passed with comparative quietude for China, Manchuria, and adjacent regions in the Far East. This is not to say that nothing of importance took place there. What is meant by "comparative quietude" is that with the possible exception of the Russo-Japanese haggling over the Chinese Eastern Railway, very few of the happenings throughout the area reached a stage of tension or violence sufficient to command the front pages of the world's press. Yet events recorded in the Far East in the course of the summer are not likely to be any less significant for the future merely because they took place in the dull light of routine—in the shadow rather than the spotlight of world attention. If a course of events could be described in terms of a central theme, it might be said with fair accuracy that the dominant theme in the Far East during the summer was "Asia for the Asiatics," with Japan striking most of the leading notes.

The Chinese Eastern Railway. Ever since Japanese troops took possession of southern Manchuria in the winter of 1931, it became increasingly clear that trouble with Russia over the Chinese Eastern Railway would develop. The inevitability of such a controversy goes back, of course, many years—principally to the Treaty of Portsmouth ending the Russo-Japanese War in 1905 whereby Japan acquired the southern part of the Chinese Eastern Railway (from Changchun to Port Arthur and Dalny). For a time after that war, Russia and Japan harmonized their relations with respect to their various interests and desires in Manchuria. But the World War and the subsequent revolution in Russia ended those arrangements. With the southern part of the Chinese Eastern as a nucleus, supplemented by various "treaties" granting her additional "rights," Japan built up the railway system in southern Manchuria which today is known as the South Manchuria Railway and its associated lines. During the same period, that section of the Chinese Eastern which runs from Nerchinsk on the Russian border across Manchuria to Harbin and connects with the Trans-Siberian Railway into Vladivostock remained under Chino-Russian joint ownership with the Russians in active control. It is this section of the Chinese Eastern that became the basis of Russo-Japanese negotiations, especially after Manchukuo was set up as an "independent" State in March, 1932.

While the Japanese extended their control over Southern Manchuria in defiance of the League, the Kellogg-Pact, the Washington and other treaties bearing upon the issues involved, Soviet Russia, was engrossed in economic reconstruction and in need of peace. She adopted a passive role while Japan consolidated her gains and extended them even into Northern Manchuria, formerly looked upon as the Russian "sphere of influence." The Soviets were outspoken enough about Japanese aggression, and several flare-ups indicated

intense agitation, but the Soviets singularly refrained from offering any provocation and did not take any positive measures to check or counteract the Japanese penetration. Then the State of Manchukuo was set up, and by its independence claimed to have succeeded to all the rights of China in and to the Chinese Eastern Railway. Incidents of bombings on the road, of various interferences with its trackage, equipment and schedules, and difficulties over its management, followed thick and fast upon each other. Russia found it more and more impossible to operate the road in such a difficult situation. It was then that Russia really entered in seriousness upon negotiations to dispose of her interest in the Railway.

The question of price raised the principal barrier to an early accord, with Russia reported or asking about \$125,000,000 in gold rubles, or ten times more than Manchukuo appeared willing to pay. For over a year the negotiations progressed or lagged at intervals according to the course of the higgling process. The difficulties in operating the Railway likewise continued, with the situation growing tense on more than one occasion. On August 20, 1934, the Soviet Union sent a sharp note about the situation to the Japanese Government. The discussions between the countries ceased and it was feared that a rupture of the peace was really imminent. Something of the seriousness of the situation must have impressed itself upon Japan for she replied in a mild and conciliatory tone; and early in September the talks were resumed. At the present writing a report, unofficial but appearing to be reliable, indicates that the main differences have been adjusted and that final agreement is near at hand.

If the sale is made, the practical effect is likely to be the complete retirement of Soviet Russia from direct, material interest in North Manchuria. Japan, through the convenient agency of Manchukuo, will take over the area; and a period of rising differences with China proper is then likely to ensue.

The Amau Declaration—A Japanese Monroe Doctrine Over Eastern Asia. It may have been with this prospect of renewed controversy with China in mind, that Japan gave out a most unusual statement last April. Certainly the declaration made by Eiji Amau, Chief of the Intelligence Division in Tokyo, on April 17, 1934, has direct bearing not only on the policy Japan has pursued to date but also on the policy she is likely to follow in the future. The statement was made in a very irregular manner and there was much confusion surrounding it. Although excitement over it has subsided, there is every indication that the issue will be raised up anew either in connection with political or trade relations of the western powers in Eastern Asia, or in the course of such broader questions as that of naval armaments which will be opened up next year.

As originally stated by Mr. Amau, Japan's redefinition of policy in the Far East was a warning to the League of Nations and to the western powers not to interfere in China. The declaration was surrounded with mystery from the start. The announcement of a "policy" is always important. Yet when foreign diplomats tried to get a copy of the Amau statement none

were available. For several days there was confusion about the matter. On April 20, a second statement of policy was made which the Japanese Foreign Office sent to the British and American embassies in response to their request for the original statement. After several obscure references to Japan's "special position" in her relations to China, her "mission" and "special responsibilities" in Eastern Asia, and her desire to keep up friendly relations with foreign nations, the gist of the document is covered in the following words: "We consider it only natural that to keep peace and order in Eastern Asia we must even act alone on our own responsibility, and it is our duty to do so. At the same time there is no country but China that is in a position to share with Japan the responsibility for the maintenance of peace in Eastern Asia." The statement then went on to say that Japan objects both to China's seeking to avail herself of the influences of other countries "in order to resist Japan," and to the joint operations of any foreign powers in the China area whether in the name of "technical and financial assistance" or otherwise. Negotiations between individual nations and China "not detrimental to peace in Eastern Asia" will not be interfered with.

The statement aroused immediate response in China who prepared to demand a conference of the powers by the authority of the Washington Treaty, in the League because of its efforts to assist China through expert advisers, and in the British and American foreign offices because of their several interests—commercial and political—in China and the Far East. Both the British and American Governments took the occasion to reassert their rights and interests under treaties and other arrangements concerning China. The American Government declared that "no nation can, without the assent of the other government concerned, rightfully endeavor to make conclusive its will in a situation where there are involved the rights, obligations, and the legitimate interests of other sovereign states."

There the matter rests diplomatically. But that the issue will come up again is certain. In a speech delivered before the Army and Navy Club at Chicago on May 21, 1934, Hiroshi Saito, Japanese Ambassador to the United States, asserted that "Japan's motives in the Far East are not different from the motives of the United States in this hemisphere. . . . Japan is determined to fulfill her responsibilities fully and successfully as the principal stabilizing influence in Eastern Asia." It is interesting to note that this new policy by which Japan constitutes herself sole guardian of "peace" in the Far East comes in the year when Admiral Perry's "opening" of Japan to American commerce records its eightieth anniversary.

China. Except for the storm of protests by Chinese industrial and commercial interests and foreign business associations in China which arose over the new Chinese tariff schedules that went into effect on July 3, the lull of the summer included most of China proper also. Occupied by floods, drought and the plague, the Chinese have had little time for military or political activities on the larger stage of the Far East.

The new tariff appears to favor Japan since the rates on goods customarily coming from the west were raised

while the rates on those products exported by Japan to the mainland have been lowered. This and the absence of active anti-Japanese sentiment have been taken to indicate the growing influence of Japan, and the probability that China may be preparing to accept the situation in Manchuria. Judgments such as these are premature in respect to a country like China which is still without effective national solidarity. For while in one area there will be shown an inclination in favor of a particular object, another area may present strong opposition to it, as appears for example by the proclamation reported to have been issued on August 2 by a group including Madame Sun Yat-sen calling for a "holy war" against Japan.

A glance at a current map shows better than can any description of political conditions what has been happening to China during recent years. The vast empire that embraced the eighteen provinces of China proper and the five outlying dependencies appears to be flying to bits in the manner in which a rapidly whirling body throws off sections of its mass loosely attached at its periphery. In such a manner China has lost sovereignty over Outer Mongolia which is now an independent communist area virtually controlled by The Soviet Union. Last April, Inner Mongolia, while still professing loyalty to the Nanking Government, inaugurated an autonomous Mongolian Government, and there are indications that the future battle for its control will not involve China so much as it will the communists on one hand and the Japanese through Manchukuo on the other. Chinese Turkestan and Tibet are already under foreign influence. North of the Great Wall, the new State of Manchukuo gives every promise of being permanently lost to China as was Korea earlier in the century. Almost within the heart of China proper, some seven areas—the largest being along the Fukien-Kiangsi border and in eastern Szechwan—are in the control of Communists acting independent of Nanking and the Chinese authorities. What is left of effective government in China appears to be limited to areas centering about Canton in the south and Nanking in the north, neither of which can agree with the other for long upon any consistent, unified policy for China as a whole.

NAVAL ARMAMENTS

In asserting her responsibility for preserving the peace of Eastern Asia, Japan may be following the usual diplomatic practice of "making a case" for the naval conference scheduled to be held in 1935. By two treaties—the Washington Treaty in 1921 and the London Naval Treaty in 1930—the principal sea powers of the world (chiefly Great Britain, the United States and Japan) limited the size of their naval armaments and defined the ratio of fleets to one another (for the above powers respectively, the ratio tonnage of capital ships was fixed at 5-5-3). By its own terms, the London Treaty expires in 1936 unless its provisions are extended or revised by another naval conference. It is this conference, provided for by the London Treaty, that is scheduled to be held in 1935. A preparatory meeting "to explore" the possibilities for agreement was held in

London last June. The British, Americans, and Japanese, were expected to take part in it. The Japanese, after accepting the invitation did not send any delegates to London. But back in Japan the navy leaders were reported as demanding equality in armaments with Great Britain and the United States, the abolition of all ratios, and the exclusion of "political" questions from the 1935 conference. While the British and American delegates were at London awaiting the effect of a change in the Japanese cabinet, the Japanese policy remained unchanged, except that Japan suggested she would be willing to take part in another preliminary meeting scheduled to be held in October.

There the matter rests. During the years since the Washington and London agreements both Great Britain and Japan have been bringing their navies up to the full strength permitted under the treaties. For a number of years the United States, which at the time of the Washington Conference was well on the way to having the greatest and most powerful battleship and battlecruiser fleet in the world, neglected its building program. With the world seeking disarmament there was always the hope that the maximum limits set by the limitation treaties would be reduced further. In that case the United States would not incur the economic waste of having to scrap ships as she had done after the other treaties. When it became apparent that other nations intended to build to the limits of the treaties, there was much agitation in American naval circles to do likewise. Responding in part to this demand, to the usual commercial pressure for naval construction, and to the idea that government spending for ship construction may help to overcome the depression, the Congress passed the Vinson Naval Bill in the session just closed. The bill declared the policy of the United States to be that of bringing the composition of the navy up to the limit prescribed by the naval treaties. It provided for replacements and new construction at a cost of approximately \$230,000,000 spread over the next three years. While it cannot be doubted that part of this huge program is a serious attempt to meet the country's need for an adequate naval defense, Section 4 of the bill authorizing the President to suspend construction in the event of an international agreement further limiting naval armaments gives some indication that part of the bill seeks to put the American negotiators in a position to "bargain" at the 1935 conference. The bill also shows that American naval policy is still geared primarily to world naval developments rather than to a clear conception of United States requirements for national defense.

Notwithstanding the wish of the Japanese to exclude "political" questions from the 1935 conference, it is safe to say that such questions will form a background for any action that is taken. The Japanese policy toward China and the mainland of Asia, and her attitude toward trade and commercial expansion throughout the Far East, will be reflected in tonnage ratios and gun calibers. Likewise the British interests in the Far East, and the American position in relation to China and the Philippines, may be expected to figure conspicuously behind the technical discussions.

THE UNITED STATES

The Recovery Program. The 73rd Congress closed its session in June leaving on the nation's statute books a body of legislation likely to change in many important particulars the whole course of American economic, political and social life. From the day in October, 1929, when the stock market crash broke the inflated values of securities, the nation had been hopelessly swirling in the downward spiral toward economic stagnation, widespread social distress, and political upheaval. Factories cut down on production throwing millions of men out of work through no fault of their own. Farmers were unable to sell the crops they produced; and their farms and personal property were being taken from them because their income was not enough to meet their obligations. Wages were cut everywhere and people stopped buying "luxuries" and even the necessities, while goods glutted the markets, prices tumbled downwards, and widespread commercial distress stalked the country. The building and durable goods industries were forced almost to a standstill. States, cities and counties, defaulted on their obligations as the sources of revenues progressively dried up. The people—some needing money and others fearful of the safety of their funds—began to draw heavily upon their bank deposits, which only aggravated the situation and eventually forced the banks throughout the nation to close. It was at this juncture that Franklin D. Roosevelt and the new Democratic Congress took over the administration of the nation in March, 1933, under the promise of giving the American people a "New Deal."

The record of this Congress—generally referred to as the "Recovery Program"—has been amazing. It met the banking crisis promptly by the Emergency Banking Act, the provision of adequate supplies of currency, and a gold policy which, together with a subsequent law applying to silver, practically nationalized the money metals within the United States. Through the National Industrial Recovery Act and the Agricultural Adjustment Act, it laid the foundations for a complete reorganization of industry and agriculture along lines never before experienced in this country. It altered the monetary system, inaugurated banking reforms, and greatly expanded credit machinery. It regulated the traffic in securities and the business of security exchanges. It gave labor a chance to secure minimum wages, limitation of hours, better working conditions, and guaranteed the workers the right to organize freely and be represented by representatives of their own choosing. Steps toward the coordination of railroad transportation and toward a unified system of all forms of transportation were laid out. To take up the slack of unemployment, the Congress authorized a huge program of public works under which thousands of projects involving several billions of dollars were provided for. Through such projects as the Civilian Conservation Corps, the Civil Works Administration, and the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, workers were provided with jobs and distress was relieved. Aid was given to states, cities and other governmental units in meeting their problems, and to industries, banks, investment companies, railroads, merchants, farmers, and individual home owners,

against the loss of their businesses and properties. The Federal Government itself was altered in many respects, particularly in the changes in its structural form owing to the large number of new agencies set up by the legislation.

Aside from the sweeping character of the legislation and the innovations it introduced into American economic life, unusual features of the laws of the 73rd Congress lie in their objective and form. In the principal acts, the Congress set forth a general policy and broad directions, leaving it to the Executive to determine the means and set up the agencies by which the law was to be carried out in substance. Aside from this matter of the form of legislation, the other principal feature of the whole body of laws passed by the Congress was that it dealt predominantly with the problem of "distribution" (the problem of putting an existing economy to work and distributing its goods) rather than the problem of "production" (a problem of increasing the absolute peak-load capacity of the economic machinery) which had characterized the capitalist system for more than two hundred years. That is to say, the 73rd Congress may be said to mark a great shift in emphasis from building techniques of production to devising better techniques of distribution and consumption.

The Summer of 1934—The Approaching Elections—The President's Accounting. The Recovery Program as sketched in above has bristled with problems during the twenty months it has been in operation, and there is still widespread confusion as to its operation and outcome. During the past summer, particularly, a wave of strikes swept the country leading up to the great textile strike in September which threatened to raise serious problems in meeting not only the issues of the strike but also the violence and unrest which accompanied it. In one way and another, with boards, commissions, conciliators and other devices, these strikes were settled, although many of the problems they raised still await fundamental adjustment. The momentum of congressional investigation of conditions, situations and various abuses continued throughout the summer with investigations on power, aviation, the munitions industry, and Nazi activities in the United States. In the autumn the election campaigns got under way with various interests beclouding their real objectives behind charges of "regimentation," lost "liberty," the violated "constitution," "sound money" and other political shibboleths. Speaking over the radio to the people for the first time since June, the President, as reported in the *New York Times* on October 1, said: "We are bringing order out of chaos . . . private enterprise in times such as these cannot be left without assistance and without reasonable safeguards lest it destroy not only itself but also our processes of civilization." He outlined the broad divisions of the Recovery Program and cited the gains to date. He gave some indication of the direction the program would take in the future. He called upon industry and labor to support him in a "trial period" of industrial peace. Refusing to consider the possibility of a permanent body of unemployed, the President said "we will arrange our national economy to end our present unemployment as

soon as we can and then take wise measures against its return." He closed his address by declaring that he preferred the broader definition of liberty under which "we are moving forward to greater freedom, to greater security for the average man" than under the definition of liberty "under which for many years a free people were being gradually regimented into the service of the privileged few."

Foreign Relations. In the field of foreign affairs, the Recovery Program started out under its general policy of "the good neighbor." It took steps to "free" the Philippines, and end the right of the United States to intervene in Cuba, withdrew American military forces from Haiti, opened relations with Soviet Russia, and moved in the direction of stopping the sale of arms to belligerent nations. The Congress authorized the President to bring about American membership in the International Labor Organization, and the Senate ratified a number of treaties dealing with the peaceful settlement of disputes between nations, limitations on the trade in arms, questions of nationality, border relations with Mexico, and the rights and duties of nations. In further-

ance of foreign trade, the Congress passed a reciprocal tariff act under which a new trade treaty has already been negotiated with Cuba, and many others are pending. Export and import banks have been established to assist in the financing of trade, and trade itself is made easier by the creation of foreign-trade zones.

It cannot be said that the Recovery Program and all of the acts done in connection with it have overcome the depression or even have solved the problems of wider significance in American life. The tactics of government, it appears, is still experimental. According to the President, the Recovery Program has on the one hand "avoided . . . the theory that business must be taken over into an all-embracing government"; and on the other hand it has avoided "the equally untenable theory that it is an interference with liberty to offer reasonable help when private enterprise is in need of help."

"The course we have followed fits the American practice of government—a practice of taking action step by step, of regulating only to meet concrete needs—a practice of courageous recognition of change."

An Open Letter

October 1, 1934

TO ALL FRIENDS OF THE SOCIAL STUDIES:

Now is the time for all good men and women to come to the aid of our common cause. Never before have the *Social Studies* received so much attention in the realm of education, business, government, or society in general. It is the greatest opportunity ever presented to any group of people in any educational field to impress their convictions upon the life of their own times.

The extent to which we coöperate will determine the extent of our influence. In the National Council for the Social Studies we have an association which reaches out to include all who are interested in our field. Historian, geographer, political scientist, economist, sociologist—there is a place for all and an opportunity to contribute to the promotion of a common cause, for no longer would we set up barriers between one social science and another. We who are teachers are especially concerned that these subjects or any combinations of them shall enjoy their proper place in the programs of our schools, and we who as citizens realize their importance desire to impress this importance upon school administrators and upon the general public.

This letter is, therefore, an appeal to all who have been affiliated in the past with the National Council for the Social Studies to continue that affiliation and redouble their past interest. It is a call to those who have not joined this group to ally themselves with it so as to make their own interest more effective and to add strength to the coöperative efforts of the entire group.

The dues for membership in the National Council are three dollars, payable either to the Secretary-Treasurer of the Council, Dr. Bessie L. Pierce of the

University of Chicago, or the Social Studies, 1021 Filbert Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. These dues entitle one to an annual subscription to *The Social Studies*, the outstanding magazine for Social Studies teachers, which, by itself, would cost two dollars for the eight numbers issued in the course of a year; to the *Yearbook* of the Council, which is published annually in February and when purchased separately costs two dollars; to whatever other bulletins may be published in the course of a year; and to full membership in the National Council for the Social Studies, with the right to vote at any meeting. Besides, one has further the consciousness that he is contributing to the promotion of the welfare of that educational interest which has so often been declared to be the proper core of every curriculum, and associating himself with others who are engaged in the same worthy cause.

Past publications of the National Council which are now in print may be obtained from the McKinley Publishing Company at the rates indicated in the list.*

Regular meetings of the National Council will be held during the coming year as follows:

Christmas holidays, 1934: Annual business and program meeting in connection with the American Historical Association, at Washington.

February 23, 1935: Regular meeting in connection with the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association, at Atlantic City. A joint meeting with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at the annual meeting of that Association in Cincinnati about the last week in April.

July, 1935: A meeting as the Department of the Social Studies in connection with the summer meet-

ing of the National Education Association, at Denver.

Further meetings are being arranged in connection with state, divisional, and local sessions of Social Studies teachers in various parts of the country. It is hoped that members will attend these meetings whenever the opportunity is open to them, and it is particularly urged that any who have not previously joined the National Council should do so promptly.

The officers of the Council for the calendar year of 1934 include: President, Howard E. Wilson, Graduate School of Education, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.; First Vice-President, Edgar B. Wesley, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.; Second Vice-President, R. O. Hughes, Board of Public Education Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Secretary-Treasurer, Bessie L. Pierce, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.; Executive Committee, the Ex-Presidents, and Cecilia A. Irvine, University High School, West Los Angeles, Calif.; William A. Hamm, Walton High School, New York City. W. G. Kimmel, 1004 Physics Building, Co-

lumbia University, New York City, is Managing Editor of the official journal, *The Social Studies*. Any of the officers will be glad to confer with all who are interested in the work of the Council.

R. O. HUGHES

Second Vice-President

National Council for the Social Studies

Pittsburgh Public Schools

- * Redman, Annabel. *Classified Catalog of Textbooks in the Social Studies for Elementary and Secondary Schools*. 50 c.
- Gibbons, Alice N. *Tests in the Social Studies*. \$1.00.
- Kimmel, W. G. *The Management of the Reading Program in the Social Studies*. \$1.00.
- Wilson, F. H. and H. E. *Bibliography of American Biography Selected and Annotated for Secondary Schools*. 75 c.
- First Yearbook: *Some Aspects of the Social Sciences in the Schools* (1931). \$2.00.
- Second Yearbook: *Classroom and Administrative Problems in the Teaching of the Social Sciences* (1932). \$2.00.
- Third Yearbook: *Supervision in the Social Studies* (1933). \$2.00.
- Fourth Yearbook: *The Social Studies Curriculum* (1934). \$2.00.

Recent Happenings in the Social Studies

BY COMMITTEE ON CURRENT INFORMATION OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES
HOWARD E. WILSON, Chairman, Harvard University

DECEMBER MEETINGS OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL

The National Council for the Social Studies will participate with the American Historical Association in a luncheon meeting in Washington, D.C., on Saturday, December 29, devoted to a discussion of the *Report of the Commission on the Social Studies*. Professor John W. Cooper, formerly United States Commissioner of Education, and now of George Washington University, will preside. Meetings of the National Council are scheduled for the morning and afternoon of the same day.

1934 marks the fiftieth anniversary of the American Historical Association, and a Founders' Dinner is planned for the evening of December 29. Five charter members of the Association are living and are expected to be at the dinner, where an address is to be given by President Roosevelt. Full details of the meetings of the Association, scheduled for December 27, 28 and 29, may be secured by addressing the American Historical Association, Washington, D.C.

SERIES OF ARTICLES ON THE SOCIAL STUDIES

For the September number of the *Junior-Senior High School Clearing House*, Paul R. Hanna, chairman of the issue, has selected the theme "American Reconstruction." Among the articles in the issue of special significance for social-science teachers are the following: "The Bearing of Administrative Theory and Practice on Social Education," by Jesse H. Newlon; "Some Curriculum Developments in Los Angeles," by W. B. Featherstone; "Social Studies in Wilmington, Dela-

ware," by L. Thomas Hopkins; "Art and Social Studies," by T. Karl Kurzband; "Social Studies Coöperate with Community Social Agencies," by Mary E. Herick; "Preliminary Report on an Experimental Course in Economics," by Lester Dix; "Social Studies Contribute to American Reconstruction," by Mabel Skinner; and "Reflections after Teaching Contemporary Problems," by Ruth Wood Gavian.

FEDERAL AID FOR EDUCATION

The Research Division of the National Education Association announces the publication of a bulletin entitled, "Emergency Federal Aid for Education: A Review of the Evidence," in which is summarized data having a bearing on the formation of policies with regard to federal emergency aid for education. The bulletin sells for fifteen cents and can be secured by addressing the Research Division, National Education Association, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

EDUCATION BY RADIO

The National Advisory Council on Radio in Education announces several series of weekly radio programs which should prove of interest and value to teachers and pupils of the social studies. The series of programs are as follows:

Doctors, Dollars and Disease, Monday, 10:45-11:00 P.M. (October 1-February 25)

You and Your Government, Tuesday, 7:30-7:45 P.M. (October 2-January 29)

Economics in a Changing Social Order, Thursday, 10:30-11:00 P.M. (October 4-December 20)

Vocational Guidance, Friday, 2:45-3:00 P.M. (October 26-May 10)

The Lawyer and the Public, Saturday, 7:45-8:00 P.M. (October 6-December 22)

Art in America, Saturday, 8:00-8:20 P.M. (October 6-January 26)

Round Table Discussion on Topics of Current Interest, Sunday, 12:30-1:00 P.M.

The time indicated for the programs is Eastern Standard Time. Detailed information concerning subjects and participants will be sent free of charge by the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education, 60 East 42nd Street, New York, New York.

PAMPHLET ON THE PREVENTION OF CRIME

Reprints of "Education and the Prevention of Crime," an address delivered by Royal S. Copeland, Chairman of the United States Senate Committee on Crime, before the National Education Association, Department of Superintendence, Cleveland, Ohio, February 1934, may be secured by addressing the American Council on Education, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D.C.

COMMISSION FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES

Of the sixteen projected volumes in the *Report of the Commission on the Social Studies*, the following are now available and may be secured from Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, New York:

A Charter for the Social Sciences in the Schools, by Charles A. Beard, \$1.25

An Introduction to the History of the Social Sciences in the Schools, by Henry Johnson, \$1.25

Citizens' Organizations and the Civic Training of Youth, by Bessie Louise Pierce, \$2.00

Geography in Relation to the Social Sciences, by Isaiah Bowman, \$2.25

Civic Education in the United States, by Charles E. Marriam, \$1.75

The Nature of the Social Sciences, by Charles A. Beard, \$1.75

Educational Administration as Social Policy, by Jesse H. Newlon, \$2.00

Conclusions and Recommendations of the Commission, \$1.25.

SOCIAL SCIENCES IN THE COLLEGES

Social sciences are now the most popular field of concentration in terms of major courses in Harvard, Yale, and Princeton Universities, and are superseded only by English in Smith, Vassar, and Wellesley, according to a summary of an investigation reported by Robert G. Albion, in the May 6 issue of the *New York Times*.

The percentage of students concentrating in social sciences in Princeton has remained practically the same for a decade, with an average of 41 per cent, while literature ranks second with an average of 26 per cent for the decade. In Harvard the average for the decade

for both social sciences and literature is 35 per cent, with marked gains for social sciences and decreases in preferences for literature during the last five years. Greater variations in preferences for social sciences as a major field of concentration is revealed by different classes of Yale students, with an average of 31 per cent for the decade, surpassed by literature with an average of 53 per cent for the decade.

CONNECTICUT TERCENTENARY PAMPHLETS

The Connecticut Tercentenary Commission, marking the three-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Connecticut, has prepared a series of twenty-nine pamphlets covering various features of Connecticut history. These pamphlets may be obtained for twenty-five cents each by addressing the Commission at Hartford, Connecticut. The Commission will also furnish schools with scripts and scenarios for short plays and pageants suitable for presentation by pupils.

BULLETINS ON HEALTH

The general theme of the *Health Bulletin for Teachers* of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company during 1934-1935 will be the development of the scientific attitude toward health, with emphasis on pioneers who have made this attitude possible. The tentative Table of Contents includes such topics as "Cultural Values of Health Education," "Welch and Bacteriology," "Jenner and Immunity," "Reed and Mosquito-borne Disease," "Trudeau and Vital Resistance," "Nutrition," "Mental Hygiene," "The Preparation of Health Leaders," "Health Education for Teachers and Administrators," and "The Year's Progress in Public Health." Teachers interested in receiving the bulletins should place their names on the mailing list of the School Health Bureau, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, New York, New York.

THE UNITED STATES SOCIETY

The United States Society, a coöperative, non-commercial organization established to develop active interest in government, distributes three publications to schools and colleges: (1) *Uncle Sam's Diary*, a weekly current-events paper for students; (2) *The Teacher's Bulletin*, a weekly publication containing additional material for teachers using *Uncle Sam's Diary* in their classes; and the *Current Debater*, a monthly publication containing briefs and materials on both sides of outstanding controversial issues. The dues, seventy-five cents a year for Junior Members of the United States Society, cover the cost of the three services. Teachers wishing to enroll their pupils should address the United States Society, 2201 M Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF BUSINESS EDUCATION

Business teachers, representing the most recent major group of teachers to organize a national council, last December, at Cincinnati, Ohio, formed the National Council of Business Education. A folder, explaining the purpose, nature, and program of the Council, may be secured by writing to the secretary, Miss Helen

Reynolds, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio. The officers of the newly organized Council are: President, Paul S. Lomax, New York University, New York, New York; Vice-President, Ray Abrams, Samuel J. Peters High School of Commerce, New Orleans, Louisiana; Secretary, Helen Reynolds, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio; Treasurer, A. E. Bullock, Supervisor of Commercial Education, Los Angeles, California.

SUGGESTIONS ON ASKING QUESTIONS

The *Harvard Teachers Record* for October, 1934, contains a stimulating article by Kenneth E. Gell, East High School, Rochester, New York, on "The Art of Asking Challenging Questions." After pointing out that the skill of asking thought-provoking questions is an essential element in the art of good teaching, Mr. Gell lists the following suggestions: (1) The question must present a problem; (2) The problem presented must be as personal as possible; (3) The background or setting of the problem should be dramatic and vivid; (4) The problem must be practical or at least probable; (5) The solution of the problem must involve using information that the pupil possesses or can readily acquire. But, the author concludes, "If it is asked what combinations of these suggestions are workable, and under what conditions, or how often such questions should be asked . . . the answer is that, 'Therein lies the art of teaching!'" The *Harvard Teachers Record* is a quarterly magazine, now in its fourth year, issued under the editorship of Charles Swain Thomas by the Harvard Graduate School of Education, Cambridge, Massachusetts. The annual subscription price is two dollars.

THE SOCIAL FRONTIER

A new journal, the *Social Frontier*, is being launched this fall under the editorship of George S. Counts. The

purpose of the *Social Frontier* is to provide a medium in which the social attitudes waging battle today can be critically examined from the educational point of view. In its pages will be presented editorial comments; articles by distinguished thinkers; interpretations of the arts; tentative programs for professional action; symposia devoted to crucial educational problems; reviews of important books, pamphlets, and magazines; and significant items from press, platform, and microphone. The *Social Frontier* will appear monthly during the school year, beginning October 1934. The subscription price of \$2.00 should be sent to the *Social Frontier*, 66 West 88th Street, New York, New York.

HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL

Some time ago the National Council for the Social Studies completed the first decade of its history. That decade not only witnessed the marked growth of the organization but also saw tremendous expansion in the educational field with which it is concerned. Students of the teaching of the social studies will welcome the announcement that Professor Edgar Dawson, Hunter College, New York, one of the founders of the Council, has consented to serve as chairman of a committee to prepare a history of the Council. Members of the Committee include the ex-presidents of the organization—Albert E. McKinley, University of Pennsylvania; J. Montgomery Gambrill, Columbia University; Howard C. Hill and Rolla M. Tryon, University of Chicago; A. C. Krey, University of Minnesota; Dewitt S. Morgan, Technical High School, Indianapolis; William A. Hathaway, Riverside High School, Milwaukee; and William G. Kimmel, editor of the *Social Studies*. The report of the committee may well be anticipated as an illuminating document dealing with the social studies in a critical period.

Book Reviews

Edited by HARRY J. CARMAN AND J. BARTLETT BREBNER, *Columbia University*

Foreign Relations in British Labour Politics: A Study of the Formation of Party Attitudes on Foreign Affairs, and the Application of Political Pressure designed to Influence Government Policy, 1900-1924. By W. P. Maddox. Harvard Political Studies, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1934. xv, 253 pp.

This is an admirably constructed and balanced monograph. It is not a history of the foreign relations of the period, but an analysis of "the origins, and manner of growth, of opinion within the Party," as it emerged in 1900 and developed toward the achievement of power in 1924, and of the political technique by which labor groups in England attempted to influence the Foreign Office. To the historian, it at first may seem unfortunate that the author did not extend the product of his researches into a more complete and sequential record, but a study of his institutional method, subjecting certain forces and personalities to microscopic examina-

tion, is convincing of its soundness. At worst, this book will be an indispensable piece of spadework to the historian who undertakes to write the final history of the Party or of the tangled diplomacy of the War and the Peace.

The book is divided into two sections, Forces and Conditions, and Processes. In the first section are chapters on the Labor interest and its Political Organization, the Bases of Labor Attitudes on Foreign Affairs, and the Nature of Labor Leadership in Foreign Affairs; in the second, on the Formation of Labor Policy, Interactions within the International Labor Movement, Political Propaganda and Pressure, and Party Action in Parliament.

With an apology, the author excludes imperial affairs from the scope of his study. This deficiency is more real than perhaps he realizes. The reactions of British organized labor to Canadian naval policy and

Australian immigration imbroglios are no less meaningful than its reaction to the state of the proletariat in post-war Hungary.

In the philosophy of the dominating element of the Labor Party towards foreign affairs, there is revealed not the Marxian brand of internationalism, but, rather, a willingness to follow in the Nineteenth Century Liberal tradition of humanitarianism, anti-imperialism and indifference. As late as 1921, when the Party was making its most energetic effort to build up among its Parliamentary representatives a body of authoritative information on foreign affairs, the international work of the Executive did not involve more than 4% of the Party's expenditures.

The War and the pre-War naval race are shown as good indications of the fundamental conflict between the trade union representatives and the doctrinaire socialists. There is tabulated for the reader an amazing correlation between the supporters of increased armaments and the members for such constituencies as Woolwich Arsenal and the Dundee shipyards.

There is appended to the book a serviceable but incomplete index. The documentation of the text is extensive, but the sources are almost entirely those emanating from Labor headquarters. Such standard works as Grey's *Twenty-Five Years* and Ronaldshay's *Life of Curzon* are missing. Similarly, the use of Continental sources might have lent more balance to the examination of the controversies within the international labor movement. Not even Bebel's *Aus Meinem Leben* is cited. Despite these omissions, the book achieves a tone of restraint and fairness throughout.

THOMAS H. LE DUC

Hanover, N.H.

American History for Colleges. By David Saville Muzzey and John A. Krout. Ginn and Company, Boston, 1933. 872 pp. \$3.60.

The United States of America, Volume II, New Edition. By David Saville Muzzey. Ginn and Company, Boston, 1933. xlvii, 839 pp. \$3.60.

Growth of the United States, Revised Edition. By Ralph Volney Harlow. Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1932. 872 pp. \$3.75.

Professor Muzzey, in collaboration with Professor Krout, has written another scholarly history for the use of college students. Its purpose is to fill the demands of colleges offering a brief introductory course in American history.

"The dominant theme of the volume is the transformation of the agricultural society of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries into the highly industrialized society of the twentieth century, and the momentous effect of that transformation upon democratic ideals, political and economic theories, and governmental policies." The chief emphasis is placed on the more recent developments. Considerably over half of the volume is devoted to the period since the Civil War, and approximately a quarter of it to the World War and after.

Professor Muzzey also has revised his volume, first published in 1924, on American history since the Civil War. This is an attempt, not merely to present in fuller

detail the factual material offered in introductory courses in American history, but to emphasize the continuity of history through the last three quarters of a century and to stress the importance of those outstanding personalities who have, in fact, made history. The broad movements emphasized are the increasing economic sectionalism of East and West, industrial consolidation with accompanying governmental control, and the emergence of the United States as a world power.

The qualities of the books are those which have become associated with the works of Professor Muzzey. The books are scholarly, quite impartial, clear, and interesting. The factual material is well substantiated by the liberal use of quotations and footnotes. Furthermore, the material of both volumes is supplemented by extensive bibliographies. On controversial issues, both points of view are presented with as much detachment as is possible. The style is forceful, pertinent, and very readable. On the whole, these volumes should find wide use in the classroom.

Professor Harlow has revised and brought up to date his *Growth of the United States*, first published in 1925. Its purpose also is to serve as an introduction to American history for college undergraduates. The necessity of making the subject of history interesting and capable of stirring the enthusiasm of students is recognized by the author, and he appears to have met it very successfully. Many of the incidents and illustrative anecdotes are not those ordinarily found in an introductory history. They are told in a very interesting manner. Those points of view which at various times were contrary to those more commonly accepted in the United States are more fully developed and explained than is customary. Although a personal bias to some extent may be inevitable in any book on American history, the attitude of detachment which practically all historians claim is too much disregarded by Professor Harlow, particularly when considering the purpose of this volume. This becomes most evident in his discussion of Thomas Jefferson for whom he apparently had a hearty dislike. In spite of this defect the book is well written and should become quite popular in college classes. Typographical errors are noted on page 76, last line and on page 359, twentieth line.

ELWYN MAUCK

New York City

The American People and their Government. By Arnold J. Lien and Merle Fainsod. D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 629 pp.

This book represents one more attempt at the solution of the perennial problem of putting vitality as well as content into introductory government courses, courses which in past years have been notorious for their effect of depressing rather than stimulating student interest in the subject matter of government. It is the expectation of teachers of upperclassmen that students will have acquired in the introductory course a detailed knowledge of governmental structure upon which later courses, whether generally interpretative or dealing with specialized fields, can build. Hence the materials

and methods of teaching of introductory courses are too often shaped primarily to the process of packing into the minds of students a compendium of facts which it is agreed that every young man and woman taking further courses ought to know, without stimulating immediate efforts at thoughtful appraisal, which are essential to the provocation of interest on the part of all students save the few who take pride in their ability to memorize. Hence students all too frequently conclude that if the introductory course is a sample of what they are to expect in government courses they want no more of them, and they, as well as other students who have taken the course but are unable to take those built upon it, are left in the same predicament as students in introductory courses in the natural sciences who have memorized many classifications which they retain with difficulty until examinations are over but have acquired little or nothing which they are able to relate to their own lives.

The authors of this text have so compiled their materials as to make it less of an abbreviated encyclopedia than some of its competitors, and have attempted so to integrate skeletal facts about government with current living conditions as to give value to the course for students who will not continue formal study in the field, and to stimulate the interest of those who presumably will pursue the subject further. They begin with chapters on population, on the diverse groups of people with diverse ideas, aims and interests upon whom government is to operate. These chapters are followed by others in the conventional order on national, state and local government, but with a vitality in appraisal which is too apparent to be conventional. Succeeding chapters on the functioning of the electorate are written with similar vigor, and are followed by others which attempt to relate the internal governmental problems of the United States with those involved in international relations. Neither this book nor any other used as a text can of itself give life to an introductory course, but this one seems likely to provide more of a stimulus and less of a barrier to student interest than most of its more encyclopedic predecessors and contemporaries.

CARL B. SWISHER

Columbia University

French Royalist Doctrines Since the Revolution. By Charlotte Touzalin Muret. New York: Columbia University Press, 1933. \$3.00. viii, 326 pp.

"Of all the forms of government which peoples have evolved hereditary monarchy has been the most enduring and, until recently at all events, the most widespread. It is a natural form of social organization, for it originates in the patriarchal family and in the human need for leadership."

Thus does Madame Muret begin her study of leading French monarchist thinkers from Louis Gabriel de Bonald and Joseph de Maistre to Léon Daudet and Charles Maurras. From these and other preliminary remarks, one might expect an uncritical eulogy of monarchy and an unmitigated approval of the Action Française. But the scholar finds, in this case, what he hopes for rather than what he expects. The author who, like

many of us moderns, has lost sympathy with parliamentary liberalism and who desires a strong state, does not treat monarchy as the only salvation of the human race. She attempts simply to trace the evolution of its ideas and to evaluate the precepts for which it has stood. Much of her material is not new, yet occasionally she presents facts that are not well known, at least to American scholars. Such is her chapter on Charles Humbert René de la Tour du Pin—Chambly de la Charce, more commonly called La Tour du Pin, with his ideas for settling the social problems of the industrial revolution by means of a corporate state. Her two chapters on the Action Française are illuminating, but they might well be read in conjunction with C. J. H. Hayes' treatment of the same subject in his *France, a Nation of Patriots*.

No better survey than this on French monarchist thought exists in any language. It may not be a "definitive work, as regards detail, but as regards the entire period covered it has performed a task that is complete. It teaches that monarchism in both thought and deed is dead in France. The skeleton still rattles in the closet; it makes noises that keep the people of the country alive to its existence and influences their actions in nationalist matters; but the bones of the decayed body have little chance for a resurrection.

SHEPARD B. CLOUGH

Columbia University

The Finished Scoundrel. By Royal Ornan Shreve. Bobbs-Merrill, Indianapolis, 1933. 318 pp. \$3.00.

"Wilkinson is the most finished scoundrel that ever lived; a ream of paper would not contain the proofs." By these words of the eccentric John Randolph, Mr. Shreve is supplied with his thesis; through a volume of considerable length for such a subject, he elaborates the story of probable villainy which may doubtless be laid to the door of one whose mastery of the principles of intrigue carried him nearly unscathed through troubles which might well have buried one less accomplished in the art.

James Wilkinson, it may be recalled, was a Marylander born, a gentleman soldier in the Revolution; he gained easily a commission of captain, and by a showy bluff a reputation as a disciplinarian in an army which lacked it markedly. After a brief but not discreditable experience with Arnold in his ill-fated Canadian campaign, he became the aid and favorite of General Gates, contriving to be safely present in the rear of the engagements at Trenton and Princeton. Successful intrigue against Arnold and ardent devotion to the lucky Gates brought to Wilkinson promotions in a row, landing him among the brigadiers at the age of twenty-one. His share in the premature exposure of the Conway cabal, with his resultant quarrel with Gates, induced his resignation and the beginning of his career as a Kentucky planter. The Indian Wars of the 1790's brought him back to the army again, and the death of Mad Anthony Wayne in 1796 became his opportunity to become the commander of the tiny force which composed the American army of the time. From this point the story of the General moves through a mass

of mysterious transactions with the Spaniards, with Burr and Burr's agents to the trial of Burr, to his own trial by court martial on twenty-six specific charges in 1811, and winds up with his removal for incompetence during the War of 1812 and his death and burial in an obscure grave in Mexico City in 1825.

Mr. Shreve has rather industriously toiled through the politics and military history of the early 1800's, has examined much of the legal evidence connected with the various trials of Burr and his associates and of that of Wilkinson in an effort to establish the exact character of the man. The book though interesting and in many ways tragically humorous is not a well-constructed piece of historical writing of the serious type; nor does it reach the standard of Mr. F. J. Huddleston's *Gentleman Johnny Burgoyne* as a masterpiece of sardonic humor. Enough evidence has assuredly been arrayed to incriminate Wilkinson; he is displayed as a coward, a man disloyal to his friends, an intriguer, and probably a traitor. It is quite probable that General Wilkinson, for all his youthful success in high army command, for all his importance in the great political antipathy of Jefferson to Randolph, and in the general administration man-hunt of Burr, and in the grand game of the South and West against Spain, was after all a minor character; one whose unpleasant character and miserable schemes were neither bold enough to arouse our admiration, nor dangerous enough to approach the dignity of tragedy. He was a bad actor, a Jeffersonian mistake—hardly worth serious research.

C. R. HALL

Adelphi College

Democracy in Crisis. By Harold J. Laski. The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1933. 267 pp., \$1.50.

Woodrow Wilson, as the President of the United States, speaking before the American Congress at the beginning of our participation in the World War declared the great objective of an Allied victory was "to make the world safe for democracy." The subsequent course of the world history following Allied success is a sad commentary on the future aspiration of applied democracy—in view of the noble hopes stated by our war-time chief executive.

Much has been spoken and written of late concerning the present plight of democracy. We are deeply in debt to Professor Laski, the brilliant English scholar and teacher, for having presented to the public one of the clearest and most penetrating discussions of the problem which, in the opinion of this reviewer, has appeared so far.

Professor Laski has not written a defense nor has he written a denunciation of present day democracy. The book contains examination and an analysis of the nature of the *malaise* affecting this form of government.

Modern democracy, as the author views it, and as it is practised in America and England is a governmental form indigenous to the liberal capitalistic state. The strength or the weakness of the present economic order reacts on its political organization. The burden of the

author's thesis is to point out that the ailment of present-day democracy is traceable to the bad state of health being experienced by modern capitalism throughout the world.

Professor Laski commences his study of democracy in a crisis by considering what he designates as the illusions of security supposedly enjoyed by the ruling class in the capitalistic state. He shows that by the long enjoyment of authority the dominating group came to the point of feeling itself unassailable so far as effective assaults upon its position by dissident elements were concerned. The coming of the world-wide economic crisis has been devastating to the group that ruled and made policies. According to the author, this class has apparently demonstrated its inability to meet the present crisis. On all sides, the masses have lost confidence in their rulers; democratic institutions of government have been made to function with increasing difficulty. It follows page after page such an argument explaining why democratic government has encountered difficulties as it has.

A chapter entitled, "The Decay of Representative Institutions" contains a brilliant survey of the functioning of the fundamental institutions of government in America and England. An individual possessing Professor Laski's pronounced socialistic principles would quite naturally arrive at the conclusion that these governmental institutions have been geared and operated in the interest of that class dominating the state. The author has driven home the point by way of reference to the traditional conservative record of the United States Supreme Court relative to the sanctity of property rights.

Attention must be given in this review to a chapter dealing with authority and discipline in the capitalistic state. Here one finds some of the most profound and philosophical thinking put into this book. As the author states the matter, "the crisis of modern capitalistic democracy is essentially a crisis of authority and discipline" (p. 147). The failure of the capitalistic leaders to meet the demands made upon them makes the problem of asserting authority and maintaining discipline increasingly difficult. Long suffering masses of humanity will become more and more disinclined to accept the authority of a government which in the opinion of those governed is so utterly incapable of satisfying their needs. The rise of leaders among the discontented, capable of leading and making demands, must surely come about, so the author maintains with excellent grounds for affirmation.

One would hardly expect a book of the nature of *Democracy in Crisis* not to contain a chapter on "Revolution." A chapter entitled, "The Revolutionary Claim" handles the problem in a splendid manner. It is an excellent and bold approach to the problem. According to Professor Laski a revolution comes about only when a combination of conditions ripens into one. Those who might fear the possibility of a revolutionary upheaval of a violent nature in America or England are likely not to experience such an eventuality so the author maintains. Regardless of the difficulties into which the democratic-capitalistic countries have got themselves,

conditions in neither country are ripe for a violent uprising and the instituting of anti-capitalistic governments. However, failure indefinitely toward reform could bring about the worst.

Considering Professor Laski's book as a whole, it must be acknowledged that it represents a profoundly philosophical grasp of the problem in hand. While the author examines and analyzes the present-day ailment of modern democratic government from the point of view of a Socialist, he has not allowed violent prejudices to dim his perspective of the problem that he has endeavored to examine.

LLOYD W. TRUMAN

Central High School,
Bridgeport, Connecticut

The New Party Politics. By Arthur N. Holcombe. W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., New York. September, 1933. 148 pp. \$1.75.

The Norton Company's Social Action series, edited by Alvin Johnson, Director of the New School for Social Research, consists so far of four books, of which the first is *The New Party Politics*. The other three are: *Crisis Government*, by Lindsay Rogers; *American Farm Policy*, by Wilson Gee; and *The New Internationalism*, by Clark Foreman.

The Holcombe book, published in September, 1933, reflects the policy of the editor of the series, who says: "The plan for these books assumes that the social-economic structure will have to be rebuilt while the tenants are living in it, therefore without the application of explosives." This handy-sized volume is political rather than economic in emphasis. Hence, the chief concern is with party constituencies, organization, functions and methods, without express definition of the social and economic aims of the American people. No blue-prints for social or economic reorganization are unrolled before the eager-eyed seeker.

Mr. Holcombe simply recognizes the political implications of the shift of the American population from country to city. He sets himself the tasks of inquiring into "the nature of an urbane political philosophy," and attempting to "appraise the principles upon which such a philosophy might rest and to forecast prospects for a sound system of urbane politics." Reviewing the history and character of the dominant American political parties, he re-states two conclusions of his earlier books, i.e., (1) that American politics of the past have been rural and sectional; (2) that American statesmanship has consisted, in the words of Frederick J. Turner, "not only in representing the special interests of the leader's own section, but in finding a formula that will bring different regions together in a common policy." The achievements of Washington in building the union, of Jefferson in leading his party into power, and of the Whigs in ousting Jackson, are historical proofs of the efficacy of the method. "Thus, the special interests of the different sections of the country, though heavily overlaid with the sentimental deposits of a century of partisan controversy, hold the key to the riddle of the old party politics."

Now, however, "it has become possible for a party

to elect its presidential ticket without any support from rural voters." Within ten years, Mr. Holcombe estimates, the House of Representatives, though not the Senate, will be dominated by the urban population. Ultimately, "an urbane brand of politics is bound to assert itself." But, since differences between urban citizens spring from the vicissitudes of their economic life, the geographical sections lose their importance as political divisions. An urban population is uninterested in rustic, sectional politics, and urban politics will be class politics.

Not that the transition from old style to new style party politics need be abrupt. The political education of the American people has, in the course of a hundred and fifty years, developed the habit of give and take. The sectional character of our politics has made continual compromise necessary at the polls, in Congress, and in national conventions. It is natural, then, to suppose, with Mr. Holcombe, that even class politics will be softened by the spirit of compromise. "To mitigate the violence of the struggle between the upper and lower classes, and to assert the supremacy of community interests over class interests of any kind" becomes the function of the "middle class" in the modern state.

In the present industrial order, the true middle class is the "new middle class," defined by Geiger as the better paid employees of capital enterprise. The first duty of this class is to become strong enough to establish itself as the arbiter between the extreme demands of the upper and lower classes. The first task of its leaders is to assure the party of the loyal sympathy of the skilled workers. Without them the middle class cannot maintain the balance of power.

Even in the formulation of a program the middle class, in order to maintain its power—and its moral prestige as the incarnation of the "public interest"—must choose a shifting, middle course. Its plan should be to pursue the way of opportunism, for in that way its method will be preserved, and methods are more significant than measures in any policy.

Certain principles, so commonly accepted in the old party politics that only the heretical jangle proceeding from Fascists, Nazis, and Communists suggests the aptness of re-asserting them, are the heritage of the urban middle-class political party. The acceptance of the fundamental assumptions of the established order and the recognition that nothing is permanent in politics are the essential virtues of the party rank and file. A sense of social balance, the appreciation of historical perspective, and quick perception of the trend of events, rather than tenacity in defending preconceived programs, are the qualifications for leadership. "In the training of the middle-class politician, the best available political science is that which gives a leading place to the Aristotelian principle of the golden mean." There is warning to the extremist and comfort for the apostles of the faith of political dexterity.

Certain relics of the rustic political era, however, are not adapted to the new party politics, that is to say the new citizenship. Mr. Holcombe has reduced these relics to five categories; number one, the rustic belief in inert and unobtrusive government; number

five, the worst, the menace of irresponsible big business to public morality.

To the extent that the three great European dictatorships represent class triumphs, Mr. Holcombe has given them his attention. His readers may, nevertheless, infer, from his distinctions between the politically experienced American on one hand and the politically untutored Russians, Italians, and Germans on the other hand, that he rejects the idea of an analogy between the parties in continental Europe and American parties both present and future.

The New Party Politics is a very good book to read now. It is intrinsically sane. Its quality of calmness and moderation is one more glory of old Harvard in these days when one lesser fraction of the population shouts "Communist" at another lesser fraction, which returns the compliment with many more epithets, including "Fascist." Let us hope that Mr. Holcombe's middle class already has the numbers and the leadership to quiet the two minor fractions, should the need arise.

MARJORIE MCGILLICUDY

College of St. Elizabeth
Morristown, N.J.

Peace By Revolution. An Interpretation of Mexico. By Frank Tannenbaum. Drawings by Miguel Covarrubias. Columbia University Press, New York, 1933. xii, 320 pp. \$3.50.

There have been two great events in the history of

Mexico, the Conquest and the Revolution, and the latter has meant a liquidation or undoing of the former. Such is the thesis of this book, which is an interpretation of the process, rather than a narrative or exposition. Fundamental are the people, i.e. the Indian, and the land, and the chief function of interpretation is to show how these operated to produce revolution. Mr. Tannenbaum, having previously written a study of *The Mexican Agrarian Revolution*, is well fitted to review that phase, and reveals that the political revolutionists were not consciously motivated by the land hunger of the Indian. Like earlier leaders, Madero, Villa, Vasconcelos, and Carranza did not grasp the significance of the upheaval whose waves they topped. Zapata was the only leader with a plan, which was very limited, and he remained an outlaw. By accident, or due to the exigencies of politics, Carranza embodied land reform in his constitutional program. Quite as unwittingly he championed the cause of organized labor. Both required other leaders to give them even a fair start, or serious consideration. The long denied recognition of the rights of the mass of the people was implicit in such aims, and after the storm and fury of war were past, they were re-asserted.

The part of the church in this process was as an ally of the old regime, the Conquest. The church, *per se*, was not attacked, nor was religion impugned by the Revolution, in spite of the sufferings of the clergy and the seizure of church property. The Mexican Indian

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was no less Catholic, no less pagan. "What Mexico has had all through the centuries is a local religion—the religion of the village," and that did not change.

The fruits of the Revolution have been, *inter alia*, the renaissance of the Indian, best expressed in the highly indigenous educational effort, the recognition of the economic rights of the mass to land and labor, and the recapturing of national dignity which is a direct reversal of the operations of imperialism. The tangible results appear discouraging, but the Revolution remains impressive and the other gains are apparent to the truly appreciative observer.

To summarize such a penetrating and compact analysis as this work offers, however, is impossible. For real insight into the fundamental factors in Mexico, it surpasses anything yet written.

MILTON W. HAMILTON

Albright College

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STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF MARCH 3, 1933, OF THE SOCIAL STUDIES, published monthly, except June, July, August and September, at Philadelphia, Pa., for October 1, 1934.

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Benkley, Robert C. "An Anatomy of Revolution," *Virginia Quarterly Review*, X (October, 1934).

A discussion of the Roosevelt administration from the point of view of the three essential elements of a revolution; displacement of power, important institutional changes, and a tempo of crisis.

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Corbin, John. "The Republicans in a Political Jam," *Scribner's*, XCVI (September, 1934).

By what it calls defending the Constitution, the G.O.P. has jockeyed itself into a stand essentially un-Constitutional. The Constitution replacing the Articles of Confederation. The Constitution replacing the Articles of Confederation represented a move from individualism to collectivism in a time which was very similar to our own.

Johnson, G. E. W. "Poland Plays a Dangerous Game," *North American Review*, CCXXXVIII (September, 1934).

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A delightful article on social and political conditions in America in the early '60's. The Civil War forged out a political entity but a political entity is not a nation.

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An examination of the political significance of collective bargaining.

Chandler, Margaret. "Theodore Roosevelt's Washington," *Atlantic*, CLIV (September, 1934).

Reminiscences of a winter in Washington, as the wife of a Congressman from New York. An intimate and amusing

chronicle of the great and lesser personalities of the '90's. Embree, Edwin R. "Facing East," *Atlantic*, CLIV (September, 1934).

The intellectual East sent a challenge to the mechanized and materialistic West.

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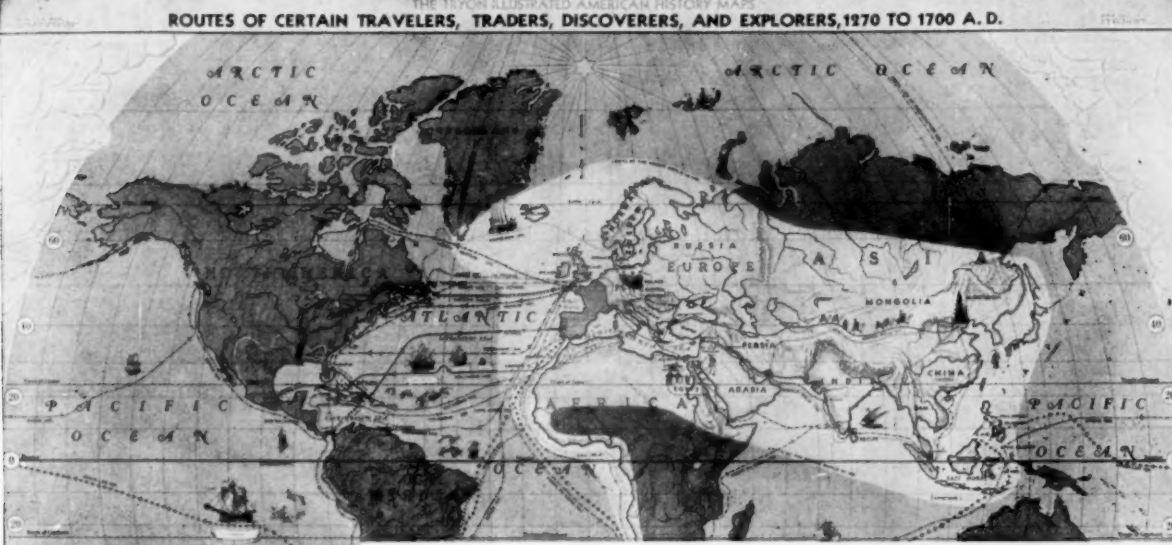


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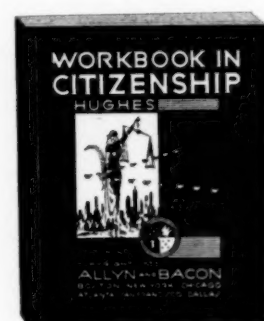
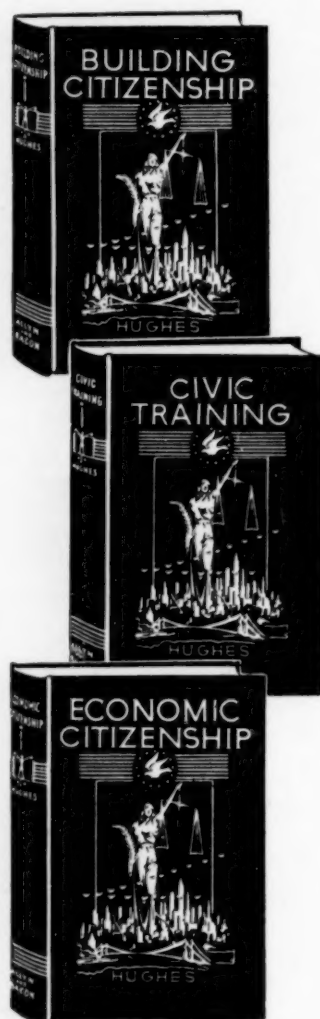
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